

THE RATTLESNAKE

issue #2

anarchist syndicalist journal

\$3.00

I want to tell you about anarchism.

I want to tell you what anarchism is, because I think it is well you should know it. Also because so little is known about it, and what is known is generally hearsay and mostly false. I want to tell you about it, because I believe that anarchism is the finest and biggest thing man has ever thought of; the only thing that can give you liberty and well-being, and bring peace and joy to the world.

I want to tell you about it in such plain and simple language that there will be no misunderstanding it. Big words and high-sounding phrases serve only to confuse. Straight thinking means plain speaking. But before I tell you what anarchism is, I want to tell you what it is not. That is necessary because so much falsehood has been spread about anarchism. Even intelligent persons often have entirely wrong notions about it.

Anarchism has many enemies; they won't tell you the truth about it. Why anarchism has enemies and who they are, you will see later, in the course of this story. Just now I can tell you that neither your political boss nor your employer, neither the capitalist nor the policeman will speak to you honestly about anarchism. Most of them know nothing about it, and all of them hate it. Their newspapers and publications-the capitalistic press-are also against it. Even most socialists misrepresent anarchism. True, the majority of them don't know any better. But those who do know better all so often lie about anarchism and speak of it as "disorder and chaos."

Therefore I must tell you, first of all, what anarchism is not.

It is not bombs, disorder, or chaos.

It is not robbery and murder.

It is not a war of each against all.

It is not a return to barbarism or to the wild state of man.

Anarchism is the very opposite of all that.

Anarchism means that you should be free; that no one should enslave you, boss you, rob you, or impose upon you. It means that you should be free to do the things you want to do; and that you should not be compelled to do what you don't want to do. It means that you should have a chance to choose the kind of a life you want to live, and live it without anybody interfering. It means that the next fellow should have the same freedom as you that everyone should have the same rights and liberties. It means that all men are brothers, and that they should live like brothers, in peace and harmony. That is to say, that there should be no war, no violence used by one set of men against another, no monopoly, and no poverty, no oppression, no taking advantage of your fellowman. In short, anarchism means a condition of society where all men and women are free, and where all enjoy equally the benefits of an ordered and sensible life.

-alexander berkman 1920



Inside: Emma, Sasha, Rocker, War and Terror news and comment, Jack and me discuss among ourselves, Exposed: Larry 'Rush Limbaugh' Livermore, Reprints including Ramsey Clark on Iraq...Hightower on trade.

....and more...

"Can that be?" you ask; "and how?"

"Not before we all become angels," your friend remarks.

Well, let us talk it over. Maybe I can show you that we can

be decent and live as decent folks even without growing wings."





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THE RATTLESNAKE

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Editor -Tommy S.

Checks to The Rattlesnake

Ads: \$20 a quarter, \$40 a half page

Donations accepted uh-huh.

PLEASE CONTRIBUTE ! The doors are open!!!

LETTERS OLD AND NEW.....

AND THE APOLOGY

The most important personal issue of this second issue is an apology on the 'unreadability' of the first issue...and the OCR and proofreading screw-ups that massively affected the last 1/3 of issue #1. I have many excuses, but here is the main one: printer needs pages in increments of '8'. I ran home deleted 4-5 pages and added 7-8 and ran back. Trusting that my bad eyes and ms word and Pagemaker spell check correctly. Wrong. So much I have learned from the help of friends Deb and Dave (ex-roommate now in the hinterlands), and much of it learned by being stupid, that I admit to being even more stupid. I have a Mac for dummies book. And I am using it now. As my MacSecrets book says in big type, "proofreaders will not loose (heheh) their jobs."

This issue is late for many reasons. Delayed for three weeks as the atrocity of Sept 11th unfolded. I cut out 20 pages to add time relevant material. You net savvy lefties may have read much of that, of course the Chomsky replies, but remember, I have two thousand readers that haven't. That is the purpose of this financial suck-hole. I had two pagemaker crashes and was forced to start over. I was all over the adobe diagnostic page, but basically I think the next issue has to be on 'updated' software. I can't reinstall a program if uh.....you know what I mean. That was 4 weeks! Note the odd spaces at the end of some pages...all pages were cut and pasted from what I could salvage one by one..ughhh.....but overall, it should look better. Printing costs went up 50 cents a copy, hence higher cover price. Also, the delay was due to the fact that I felt I had to read fifty more books. I'm still not working full-time so it's my big last chance, after a year of doing so, to absorb all the knowledge I can, for now the work on the 'Syndicate' starts. Commercial rents have dropped in SF almost 100% in the past 8 months. My 'lazy waiting' will save tens of thousands in rent over a five year lease.

Thank you all for your time and big hearts. I got over a hundred positive letters/emails from the first issue. The letters from prison are especially important to me. The next issue will have the big news about how the SF syndicalist meeting hall/bar/center is going.....as well as the usual... (ts)

No comprehensive contact list in the Rattlesnake this time. Others do such a better job. Below is a short books-for-prisoners list, since they can't get on the net or web or whatever I am to call it. For that arena I can't recommend enough these sites: Common Dreams- a wealth of both mainstream and left news including links to AP and Reuters' wires so you can see what doesn't get written up in your paper-PLEASE visit commondreams daily-you will become informed, Z magazine(Znet), The Indy Media sites, as well as Cockburn's Counterpunch.org, and LBO. All have links to other areas.

Books to Prisoners c/o Left Bank Books

92 Pike St, Box A
Seattle, WA 98101

Bruno for the Prison Literature Project

c/o Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St.

San Francisco, CA 94117 Request types of books-not specific titles, no Christian/Islamic, horror, romance novels, legal. Stamps or donations greatly appreciated.

Midwest Pages to Prisoners Project

c/o Secret Sailor Books,
202 N. Walnut Street,
Bloomington, IN 47404

Prison Book Program

Lucy Parson's Center & Bookstore Lucy Parson's Center & Bookstore
110 Arlington St.,
Boston, MA 02116

ERIKILWU

Hey Tommy, it's great to hear from you!

It sounds like you have some ambitious plans for the magazine and I'd be honored to write something for it. I like your ideas for distribution as well. Actually I've meditated on the labor movement (its future, its potential, unfulfilled potential, my current, past, and future role, etc) for quite some time now, so I think I've got some material to work with. Actually this would be a great opportunity for me to straighten my thoughts out. The Solidarity Forever book you read, is that the oral history? if so, it's a great read. another really good book on the IWW is "we shall be all" by Melvin Dubofsky. it's out of print now but it is an excellent history and Dubofsky does an excellent analysis of the IWW's strengths and weaknesses, cutting away a lot of the myths surrounding the IWW and attempts to explain the union's legacy. Since I've been here in Hawaii I've met up with a few un-attached socialists one of whom I'm going to work with to put together a film series on local labor history as a way to connect younger community members to past social struggles. it's pretty weird here that there is a comparatively high rate of unionization (30%+) yet from what I can tell of the younger crowd they have little interest in confrontation. as a matter of fact, there was a sit-in at the university shortly after I arrived (regarding native rights and planned tuition increase) and many people were appalled by this mild activity.

As I see it, past local union struggles (many of which were forms of social movement unionism, anti-colonialist, and internationalist in nature due to the large number of immigrant laborers) enabled unions to become power players and eventually part of the establishment. Consequently the gains won over the past 50 years are today taken for granted by younger generations. Hawaii has an amazing and rich labor history that seems to have been largely lost on younger generations, making them hostile, or at best indifferent, to ideas which confront issues of exploitation. Is this due to the overwhelming capitalist propaganda machines running overtime to block out thoughts of individuality and resistance, or merely the abdication of many union leaders to fight for the communities in which they live in order to be a part of the established power or short short-term gains? I suspect it's a poisonous combination of the two (although undoubtedly more of the former than the latter). in this way then, I suppose this is a similar dynamic confronting social and labor activists across the country. However, there's something else going on here I need to figure out.

We have our work cut out for us though. Next May [his letter is old] the city is hosting the Asian Developmental Bank (a smaller, geographical version of the World Bank, headed by Japan and the US) after the locale was changed from Seattle after the City's finest assaulted activists there, claiming violence had been perpetrated on the city by black-masked hooligans (true, but they were wearing badges and guns). The belief is that Hawaiians are much more passive and the isolation of the state means very few outsiders could be trucked in (rightly so). The city will be prepared though: a news article last week publicized the fact that the state is training 1,500 police and others in "anti-riot security measures". So a local branch of the American Friends Services Committee is looking to organize around this meeting.

We'll see how it turns out. I'll start workin on a piece and try to get it to you as soon as possible for editing.

in solidarity,
Erik

MATT DIDN'T GET VEGAS.....

Hey TS,

Been reading the mag. That stuff with Larry and the chatroom was

scary. The ol' "blame the poor" approach. Scapgoatism. Fucking bastard. You don't even have to say anything about them. The words are so racist and elitist. Liked the stuff on rent control and the 'poor' landlord. I remember working at that property management company in Hayes Valley right after Mordam (what was I thinking?) and the owner of the management company blew \$4000 on hotels in Miami for the millenium last year which he missed cause he was sick. Went on trips to Las Vegas to gamble. Meanwhile, the garbage areas were a joke. Maintenance was only performed in dire situations. I think of that whenever some landlord complains that low rents force them to skimp on their buildings. Sorry bout the book. I should go get it back from that nutbag simonelli.
m80

ERIK AGAIN...

Hey Tommy,

You've got some fire in them words! I agree with you about the lesser of two argument and it always makes me wonder how people can say they believe in democracy then say they have to vote for someone they don't really like but feel like they have no choice. Isn't that the essence of dictatorship? The formalism of the elections merely puts the stamp of approval on the capitalist candidate, making it appear as though we've got a functioning democracy. In this case, clearly, the dictatorship is that of the business community and more precisely, the large multi and trans-nationals, where the real power of the political systems lies. I think the lesser of two arguments nicely demonstrates the hegemony exercised over the social system that people cannot see outside the box of the 2-party (actually one party) system. But it's been like this for this whole century. The game is rigged so that whichever republicrat wins the white house or the congress, the capitalists will always come out the winner. As marx pointed out, political "democratic" systems like the US gives with one hand (the vote) and takes with the other (a meaningless vote for a capitalist candidate).

The electoral system is of limited utility for activists for, as you pointed out, it tends to water down real changes and defuses militancy. The electoral systems takes power away from people, it does not empower them, the opposite of social movements. I agree with you that the only way real change has even been instituted in this country has been through grassroots movements willing to confront the contradictions of the system. All too frequently however, once the power of those movements are realized by the elite, they are frequently co-opted and brought into a power-sharing arrangement as junior partners (i.e. the labor movement of the 1930s and 40s) to limit their gains or given a limited measure of legitimacy through legislative reforms (Progressive Era, Civil Rights Movement, ERA) or just outright destroyed (e.g. militant left unions and the black panthers). It is here where we find the roots of the a lesser-of-twoism, for once the leaders of these movements (self-appointed or otherwise) feel as though they've got a foot in the door and have gained respect by the establishment they are loath to give that up, however much the establishment has spit on them since the historic activist days of old.

While I believe that legislative reforms are helpful and can be important, they are symptomatic of the dubious excuse for democracy we are presented with today. Once every four years or every couple years working people are asked to legitimate a non-choice and put their stamp of approval on a dictatorship so that the elite may continue publicizing their facade of democracy. Is it any wonder that voter turn-out declines every year? People know there is little difference aside from marginal rhetoric supporting free speech or the like. What does free speech matter if it is controlled by a corporate media or the police will bash their skulls



while on a picket line or the cops will shoot a black man for pulling out his wallet? What does free speech mean if our identity is merely one of "consumers"? what does it mean if * of our waking hours are spent working in a miserable job where we have no free speech and very limited rights (the bill of rights doesn't count when you're on company property) so that we can barely pay the rent? What does it mean when real wages are lower today than they were 30 years ago? Fuck the democrats and their liberal lackeys. When Nader ran in '96 he specifically said that he didn't want to be seen as some leader on a white horse who would ride in and save the electorate from the evils of the political system. He wanted people to view his candidacy as a way to get involved and become active in changing the problems that confront them, not vote for someone and hope they would take care of it for them. Now his candidacy is being noticed and he's forcing the media to pay attention to the many unpleasant facts of the American political and economic system, many of which will be derided and written off naive by the corporate press which will do as much as possible to delegitimize his campaign in order to help maintain the one-party system. But many people are starting to take notice of the issues and this scares the fuck out the dems. because they are scared/shitless that their scam and shell game is going to be exposed. So they put out the "spoiler" line of BS. Sure Nader has no chance of getting elected but who cares? If his candidacy can be used like Eugene Debs' multiple candidacies to help "awaken" (I use that term advisedly) the working classes and oppressed and start asking the unpleasant questions, more power to him (or more accurately, more power to the people).

In solidarity,
erik

PS -I subscribed to the AVA during the Gulf War specifically so that I could read Cockburn's column regularly. I'm glad to hear he's still ruffling feathers in Mendicino.

FROM SF TO URBANA.....

Hey Tommy-

Dave P here. Yep the one with the kids. Living in Urbana, IL now... bought a house and the whole deal. We couldn't compete with gentrification anymore, especially considering the kids and public school situation in SF so we had to re-emigrate. Urbana's supposed to be "this island of liberalism" in the Bible Belt" well... don't believe that shit! These freaks are so christian/far right they would consider yuppies in SF to be part of "the godless leftist conspiracy." Every once in a while I threaten Kathryn that I'll raise a Black & Red flag on the house just to scare the shit out of the neighbors... but she won't let me because she's afraid they'll burn down the house or something.

Been here about a year and a half and it was a rough one. Finding a job totally sucked and when I finally got one it sucked even worse, unfortunately the options are pretty nil here even for a college town. Worked until January for a book compositor (half of the people that worked there were Born Again Assembly of God freaks!... fucking terrifying!.... that's another long story though) doing graphic design shit (digital layout, art, for academic books; and audio/video for multimedia... generally ugly and boring stuff for someone else) making a measly 9 bucks an hour (and they liked to remind me that I was one highest paid workers because of my knowledge and experience! i.e., forget about a raise...

motherfuckers! But after about 15 interviews at other places I quickly found that no other place in this shithole would pay any better... some less even). So a few my fellow workers and I came up with a plan... and now we're working on putting together a "Cultural Worker's Collective" and work for ourselves.... ok, the idea was mine and they agreed with me.

So, we stole thousands of dollars of software from our exploiters, started getting organized structurally, (the legal bullshit is a pain in the ass here but luckily a "liberal Democrat" lawyer is helping us get around the restrictions with the state's cooperative statutes.... because he's interested in the "experiment"), made some contacts, and hopefully we'll have the legal red tape done in a month or so. Luckily for us we all already have the skills and the computers at home.... we just need to use our time wisely, not fuck around, and just do it.

Right now I'm back in school because it pays almost as much as my shit job did and it'll give me the kind of time I need to devote to forming the collective and getting it going. Been talking to a lot of people, letting them know what we're up to, getting advice, networking, etc...., AK Press, Anarcho-Syndicalist Review (just briefly though.... I didn't know they were based here), some local activist groups, unions, a pretty cool fiction publisher in Florida, and some others. Hopefully they can belly up to the bar when the time comes and give us some paying work.

Good to hear that the autonomous union hall might really happen. there's a guy here from one of the carpentry unions who has a similar idea... I hope it all works out. Also, glad to hear you put out a journal... good going! (Soft plug here for the collective... I used to crank out the layout and art for Jossey-Bass journals and university journals in about a day... some less, depending on content, editing, and length). [...] say hello to everybody.

Dave P

PS: later.....Admittedly not all of the members are anarchists, one other is besides me... the others are motivated partially by necessity and partially by an interest in such a social politik, I've introduced them to concepts and possibilities that they've never really been introduced to before and they're catching on pretty quickly. It's always been my opinion anyway that revolution starts with the realities of everyday life, an admitted Situationist influence, and spreads from there... Talking about the details and slight variations in the theory of anarchism with others that agree with you is just about as productive as arguing with a capitalist... it goes nowhere... and its ultimately a waste of breath. The whole point should be introducing these ideas directly to the workers that need them most and finding a way to implement them... that's revolution. I mean that is direct action anyways... right? I guess, one of the positive aspects of being here is that starting up such a venture would have been less likely in a place where skilled workers such as us were making a decent living under a capitalist model... right? Oh well, enough of the dogma and polemics. I would be curious to know about the new film you're working on as well. I work on an underground film mag here, that's why I saw the doc about you at the Chicago Film Fest... ah, press passes, maybe we could give it some PR when its done?

Anyways, gotta take Kosmo to school now... take care
dave p

MARTIN SAYS GIVE UP AND GET JOHN YATES TO DO IT...

Tommy,

Congratulations on getting the Rattlesnake out. I'm still reading it and probably will for some time.

One suggestion: You've gotta break up the text... The run-on page layout makes the entire issue come off as one long rant. Your ideas

get lost in the repetition. Get Yates on the job?

Nothing more needs be said about Lawrence... He always had a habit of shooting himself in the foot. I'm just surprised Punk Planet printed those columns.

Take care.

Martin



MAINE CHECKS IN....

Tommy,

Just recieved the package full of Rattlesnakes. Very impressive little rag you've got going there! Looks like you've poured a lot of heart and soul into it. You have obviously been very busy. Great job. I'll have to find real fun places to plant some of the extra copies that you sent, like the local health club, the library, doctors offices or give one to the Jehovah's witnesses that keep coming to my house...that'll give them something different to think about. I havent had a chance to read much of it yet, but when I do, I will respond with comments and discussion.

I did read through your little column on Larry Livermore. Kind of funny because i used to talk with him via a message board on AOL about 4 yrs ago. The thing that i find funny is that i once asked him if he knew you (knowing that Lookout had dealings with Mordam) and he told me what a genius he thought you were, and how lucky Mordam was to have you on staff.

Hope all is well. Keep em rattled!

T. from Maine

LBO says ok....

Tommy -

Thanks for sending along those copies of The Rattlesnake. I liked them, and what you quoted from me was just fine (and of course I liked the praise!). So feel free to do that sort of thing in the future. So who are Strawman and Songs for Emma?

Doug Henwood

Doug of the Left Business Observer got free CDs for asking.

His opinion is awaited.....

DAVE OFFERS ADVICE.....ver. 1

Tommy-

Got the mags last week... boy, quite a hefty tome... I wasn't expecting something quite that big. Distributed a few in conspicuous places. Saw one guy reading it at a coffee shop I go to here and you cracked him up occasionally. So that's pretty good.[....]

Just one easy suggestion though, sorry... anal publishing hack in me, after you scan the pages and do OCR you need to run the text through spell check and clean it up a bit. (I'm assuming you scanned the reprints of course.)

dave p

AND DAVE CONTINUES HIS ADVICE.... SPACE SPACE...

Tommy-

Hmmm... typography? I love typography... but then I'm a freak! General "classic" typography usually calls for what's called Serified fonts for "basal" text (general body text... Times, which you used, is an example of that). Some common generic book fonts are Plantin, Berkeley, Janson, New Century, and Times Roman. But, you don't need to be limited to that though... afterall the beauty of self-publishing that makes it so interesting to me is that it's like music in a way... it's like a four-track... standards are out the window. There are tens of thousands of fonts and I have close to 1/3 of them. (I even have a series of 20 or so derived from punk rock flyers of the 80's... Vandals, Circle Jerks, Gov't Issue, GBH, Crucifix, etc...). Heads and titles are usually "sans serified" (helvetica that you used is an example of that).

Since you're printing on newsprint it would be a good idea to avoid fonts with very "thin," defined strokes because of "bleed" (bleed is when the adjacent paper fibers absorb ink "fattening" the detail of the strokes, just like setting a felt tip marker on paper and watching the ink spread outward from contact) so, newsprint, which has extremely porous fiber content, is very susceptible to bleed and needs to be considered. The best way to approach the problem is if you get an "Ideal Vision" in your head of what you'd like it to look like in the best of all worlds and describe it to me. Can be anything really... get drunk, go nuts, imagine, and write it down, I'll get the idea... want thirties militance... fifties kitsch... Surrealist... DaDa... lighter text with some "space" in it... anything, any level of detail or whatever... then I can come up with some suggestions. (Remember that although the choice of fonts might seem mundane, it is extremely important because regardless of how many visuals you may have ultimately the reader's impression is derived from their interaction, visual and otherwise, with the text... afterall 90% of their interaction with your mag will ideally be "reading"). I'm listening to Bevis Frond right now so I have to pause for psychedelic swoon of white noise fragile feedback cranium euphoria for a moment... sorry... excuse me.

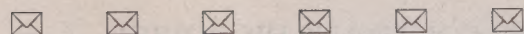
Also, a good thing to do is simply just look at books and mags. You've got tons so start with your own and then go to stores and look at others. Don't read them though look at them visually... how they're put together... the shit you don't notice when you're reading normally. Check out what other people do with layout and text... what you like and what you don't and why?... steal things... they did. It may be obvious but even if you don't like something it's a good way to start thinking about what you want to do if you ask why? and how would you do it better?... hindsight is the easiest way to solve problems... so why not let other people make half the mistakes for you before you spend any of your own time fucking up. dave p

Yes, yes great advice, but what ARE the thin fonts to avoid? I assume the ones I used last issue. So I'm not. Though having just lost ALL of this issue, in PageMaker and on back-up, I won't have it as clean in this 'rushed' version., as I'd hoped....but getting better.....still not enough space....

AUSTRIAN MARXIST INVADES CANADA...

Hi Tommy!

Just got your fanzine from Sandra and want to send you congratulations. A great piece of work! I can imagine how much work you put in it. Of course I was not able to read it yet. It will take me a



while to get through. But it looks very interesting!

Hope you are fine and enjoy yourself, having so much work done. Didn't hear from you for a while (despite the rare information's Sandra gave me). Unfortunately I could not meet you last time in Vienna (I still regret not have seen you playing in the EKH). How is life in warm California? I almost survived my first Winter in Canada. As Sandra might have told you, I'm doing another degree in Political Science here at York University in Toronto. The place is probably the most left-wing 'Polizei'-department (that's how they call it) in the Northern hemisphere and for sure in North America. Prof's are still proud to be Marxists. Universities in Canada are not privatised (although they are planing to do it in Ontario) and York in particular has many migrant children as students. Looks very different to the 'ivory league'-School, Sandra is going to.

I'm working as a graduate assistant and as such I'm a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. We had a 3 month strike here last Fall and literally shut down the University. I had to go 'picket line' the first time in my life. Sandra was here to join us for some days (did she tell you?). We were so effective that the administration had to concede finally. As you can imagine, winning a strike was a great experience (especially for Austrians, who haven't been involved in strikes for almost 50 years). Apropos: there was a report on our strike in one of the last Labor Notes.

However, now I'm back to work and think studying is boring - striking is definitely more exciting (as long as you don't have to go 'picket line' at - 20 degree Celsius). Anyway, hope you have fun!!! Looking forward to hear from you.

In solidarity, Christoph.

PS.I: did you hear about the summit of the Americas next month in Québec? People here are busy with organising protests. Is expected to be the 'Canadian Seattle'. Will try to go there.

PS.II: in case you're looking for an interesting book, I can warmly recommend the Socialist Register 2001: Working Classes - Global Realities (edited by Leo Panitch and Colin Leys - the first is one of my teachers here). Merlin Press.

YES DAMN ELITISM....

Hello and thank you for magazine-just what I was looking for to complement my Z-magazine and the like. No elitism, thank you thank you. Perhaps I will write you more letter, but as for now, is issue 2 available? I hope so.

Thanks very much.

Nick, Asheville, NC

HOWIE IS ONE OF MY HEROES

Dear Tommy:

Thanks for your message. I like your letter on anarchism. You understand well what Noam is saying about government.

[ref to my argument with John of Imagine zine that throughout anarchist writings 'socialism' was not a dirty word, the statist 'socialists' were the dirty birds, and that most direct action actually results in laws-or forcing the gov't to pass legislation for housing mandates, right to organize, or limiting war powers etc....so the slogan all laws are 'bad' gets us nowhere but in reactionary finger pointing-ts]

From going around the country I get the feeling that more and more people understand that our political system is corrupt, that our economic system is unjust, that we need an alternative. It's just that they don't know what to do about it. Well, that's the job for political and social movements, to suggest what people can do, by example.

You can reprint any of my writings. No problem.

Best of luck with your magazine.

Howard Zinn

JAMES LOEWEN IS ANOTHER ONE...

Rattlesnake,

Thanks for your kind words.

I can't take time to write a new piece — too many deadlines loom. However, if you want, you can extract the essay on China Beach from my new bookand run it, along with the promised ad for IT (LIES MY TEACHER TOLD ME seems to sell well enough now, by word-of-mouth, the way it reached you). China Beach is about San Francisco—

—Jim Loewen

IF HE WAS MY DAD, HE'D BE MY HERO TOO..

Dear Tommy,

Last Saturday was my final work day (at least until April when I may return for a few final months if my union (the Operating Engineers Local #3) continues its policy of allowing recent retirees to work during the peak work months while continuing to collect their retirement checks. (Since I took so many years off in my twenties and thirties—believing that I would enjoy play more in my prime years than in my dotage—a few months of paychecks on top of retirement will soften the financial downshift.) Also, my last employer, W.R. Forde Associates for whom I've worked these past ten years (my longest work stint ever) have been very generous to me. They are a small company with an average of 40 to 50 employees and are more personal with their employees than a Morrison-Knudsen size firm. I might add that being a foreman in the construction trades doesn't necessarily drive a wedge between 'boss' and worker. This is because everyone recognizes that without productivity everyone's job is in jeopardy. Also, foremen continue to draw their salaries on a per-diem basis at union scale. Operating Engineers and union laborers make good money in the Bay Area, and all employees understand that they are expected to perform.

In response to some of your questions; I don't know much about the construction industry outside the Bay Area, but I'm not privy to knowledge of mob or rackets control of the industry here. Usually the companies are either family or partner owned. One employer I worked for started out with a rented small dozer grading lots for neighbors and then rode a strong economy into the creation of successful business. This is not untypical. Likewise, I've seen owners ride weak economies into bankruptcy. I don't know much about the concrete industry. The one in Marin County is a family affair. Likewise with the local rock quarry.

As for my political point-of-view; it has been shaped largely by reading: Thoreau, Henry Miller, Gore Vidal (his essay: "Monotheism and its Discontents" is my all-time favorite political essay), Raymond Carver and Charles Bukowski (I believe every kind of writing is in a sense political), and then most recently (the last year or two) Noam Chomsky who really pushed me into the 'radical camp,' whatever that might mean. It was Caitlin's gift of the Chomsky CDs that really turned my head to the left, and that led to my reading dozens of books on globalization, deregulation, the CIA, the history of labor, law, the people's history, and so on.

I was in somewhat of a fever about all this political stuff until around March when the work picked up and I had to return to construction work routine leaving me no energy for reading. I must admit, it was somewhat of a relief to take a break from reading what an uncle of mine calls "disturbing literature." It was probably an even bigger relief to my family and friends.

And yet I miss feeling more stirred up about our rampant social injustices. Even more, I miss being up to date informed and confident in my ability to articulate about current events. And therefore my reading will pick up.....

a copy of Edward L. Bernay's Propaganda in the local library and made a copy of it on my Xerox machine. Also, I have Larry Tye's The Father of Spin that I've only begun to read. And so forth.

Meanwhile...how can I get my hands on a copy of "Rattlesnake"? I'd be happy to contribute something if I can judge an appropriate subject to write on.

Regards, Richard.

I wrote Richard after working with his daughter. He was, at a later age, reading the 'good stuff' and educating himself. I was hoping to get inside info, or just a work-a-day article. The Mob has, in the recent past, controlled the big project contracting in most cities, as well as controlled the Teamsters for decades, but no doubt, bare fact of this precedes Richard's tenure in SF work, and is at the topmost level between city politicians and biddings/contracts awarded. Yeah, I was fishing. ...and for any 'spook' rumors about the concrete industry. There was a great Nation article about ten years back, very factual and fascinating....Really the 'legal business' between rich real estate campaign contributors and politicians is the same as any 'mob' control. And I am NOT saying anything about certain Irish rich in SF that seem to have a lot of influence, and don't hesitate threatening people with bodily harm...see issue#1 on Joe O'D.

THE MAN MIKE MALES

Hi Tommy — I did read the Livermore lashing, good work. Somehow liberals and (former) progressives are more infuriating than outright rightists. [because they are less honest about their views!-ts] Also, the rate of black and Hispanic homicide and violence arrest is higher than for whites (the latter is exacerbated by excessive policing of people of color, as you know), though we are finding a straight-line relationship between lower socioeconomic status and higher violence arrest rates regardless of race. What's remarkable is the fact that white adults, 30 and older, show the biggest increases in violence arrests of any age groups, while black youth show declines. Just another of the strange developments in this fragmenting culture. Also, we pay more for housing and necessities as a percentage of average family income today than 30 years ago.

best regards,

Mike Males

THIS REPLY is in reference to some of my ramblings about updated economics and crime in year 2000. Even the Census Bureau agrees that its definition of poverty is suspect. This guy wrote Scapegoat Generation, Framing Youth and recently Kids with Guns, all on South End Press. Essential reading if you 'think' you know about violent crime vs race, age vs. crime, and urban problems... and then don't read every mainstream crime article with suspicion. These books changed my life...into more of a cynical overdrive sadly. I really want to be stupid and a drunk on guitar, but people like him won't let me....

FROM BORIS IN BELGRADE SPRING 2001.....

Hey Tommy.

I just got your package (dated 28.march) and I'm reading "the snake" right now..sure is packed with information..and i gotta give you advice about its look ..it needs to be more "organized" in terms that it needs a bit of lay out that can make it more readable..no slick designs and shit just that it needs to kinda inspire you to read it even if you're not much into reading..you know..and man that mag is fat!!! I thought it would be a newspapers style not a maximum r'n'r styled mag..maybe ..I said maybe if it would be a bit thinner ..it would be like more open to everyone..um? what you think..its just that i dont think that marx's capital is like the book for everyone..not just because of enormously hard to read deep and theoretical analysis of the capitalism but because its looks..man the book is so fucking huge..who would be into reading

such scary big book? especially after 8 or even 12 hour work day?

I'm not saying you should water down your politics and make it more suitable to working masses(that's what everyone's doing..fuck that!) but make your mag more focused..maybe you could make two issues instead of one? but I'm just bullshitting..can you tell me what was the response by the people that got rattlesnake and had the chance to read it? also I'm interested about the deal that you were talking about ..like you wanted to give some copies to unemployed workers to sell em and in that way make some money so they could support themselves.. is it working?

Anyway..i really think its great that you're doing this and I wholeheartedly support you..you can count on me companero i ll do my part ok.. thanks for the cds..my girlfriend hates it..the music..she doesn't like bruce springsteen and bob dylan and such..but i like it alot..especially songs for emma..slow and moody workings class blues i call it..i really like it..

Anyway..i ve sent you the books..i hope youll like it and find em all interesting..do write me when you get em..since i ve send em via surface since the airmail was sooooo expensive that i couldnt afford it..i asked post lady about how much will it take to get to you and she said something like month or something..so be patient my friend..

thanks again and i really cant wait to hear from you again.. love and revolution..boris

Another Springsteen reference to the first Songs for Emma CD. I am doing something REALLY wrong. 2nd Cd will fix that I think. Boris then sent me 4 volumes of the 'Yugoslav Crisis' from early 90's to 1996 published by the Institute for European Studies. Basically time lines of everything that happened. Did any Americans know of the massive protests against Milosevic going on before we had even heard of Kosovo? He would've been overthrown without the bombing of the very people that were fighting him. And I might add, that the books are heavy enough, it may have cost Boris a day's wage just to ship them! My taxes paid to leave cluster bombs in his city and fields.....ugh.

SANDRA CHECKS IN

.....that's so funny. I just had my daily political discussion with christoph on the phone and I told him about that one girl I know from columbia. She is really a nice person, but when I was making fun of gore before the election, she kinda freaked, and told me that she LOVED gore and that he was so great a guy. It took me 5 minutes to find out that she was actually NOT being sarcastic. That kinda blew me away. I still hang out with her sometimes (we take the same train home), but there is really not much I can share as an opinion with somebody who says that she loves gore. bruah! That kinda hurt. And christoph agrees with me that it is okay to kick the butt of people who complain that homeless people are "cruel" to animals!

-Sandra NYC

A WORKER IS A WORKER.....

Dear Tom,

First off, thank you for the most excellent zine! I picked it up at a local zine shop here in Portland, Oregon. I've only found the first issue so far but I hope the second issue isn't far behind. After cutting my teeth on the likes of Adbusters, began craving



something with more content and less pictures, something I could really sink my teeth into. The size of your zine is quite impressive, especially per the price. I felt like I was purchasing one of those ungodly-large restaurant-sized cans of beans for "cheap", with a label on it that says, simply, "BEANS". I've been reading it repeatedly over the last few weeks, bringing it everywhere I go instead of a book or newspaper (bus/train commute). Very eye-opening. It seems to be very "browse" friendly — that is, you don't have to read the whole thing cover-to-cover like a book, you can just dip in here and there.

I especially like the variety of material, from old-school essays to modern short stories.

My only criticism would be the seemingly SF-centered nature of some of the material which fails to take the nation/world as a larger perspective (such as the housing articles), and the sometimes poor OCR which adds a bit of roughage to the occasional article. If there's anything I can personally do to help — be it proofreading or otherwise — I would be most willing to do so.

My own story is kind of interesting, but I will not bore you with the details. I was VERY pro-capitalism and riding the wave of "the new economy" — I'm 20 and make two to three times what my dad did before he retired at the end of his career at 50.

Interesting, at the height of my consumer appetite — big screen TV, PlayStation 2, every toy a guy could want — is when I had the wind-fall. It just didn't seem RIGHT that I could go out and buy a \$300 video game entertainment system at the drop of a hat and think nothing of it with no impact on my personal finances, while meanwhile, in our country and places abroad, people run the spectrum from starving to barely making rent and food.

Simply "throwing money" at the problem by way of charities didn't quell the feeling of uneasiness a bit. I needed to take action. I suspect had I not "overdone it" that I may never have turned in the other direction. It's difficult to say.

At any rate, keep up the great work, fight the good fight. I hope to see some FTAA coverage/essays in future issues (commondreams.org is a great source for these, as is indymedia.org). It was particularly interesting to be reading about police brutality articles (ie SWAT article) in light of the summit at Quebec. Uncannily timely.

Cordially yours,
Josh

Josh is too kind. The big can o'beans reference is exactly what I was working at. Fry this up for months! Lets hope he doesn't run into a bunch of 90's-variety-neo-anarchists in Portland that sour him.

KEITH RESPONDS TO "write me something fella....." THE FLORIDA FUTURE FANTE?...

Yes Tommy,

I'd enjoy spilling out a couple hellos from time to time. Nebraska to Florida you ask? I was a Cornhusker, and got traded off to the Dolphins in '89. Threw my back out sniffin' a line of yayo on a hibachi table, so I got canned, or my pops was in the Air Force, and I was following him around at the time. I think it was the latter. Oh my, the "Warped" tour is all the rage here in Fl. I think 'bout 18 of those things have been through here in the last few years. Never been to one of them, not even with my free tickets. Hell no, fuckos. I'm gonna keep my shirt on. I should've gone a couple years ago, just to kick Mike Ness in the nuts, but I missed out. I slack, opportunities pass me by every minute.

The rock n roll scene is blistering up here in P-cola though,

we had two good clubs here. One closed down because of Landlords and commerce, the other burnt to the ground, both had been open for over a decade and both vanished in the same year. Of course, there is the omnipresent group of recycled youngsters in cut-off army pants held together with Hot Water Music patches and (what they say is) dried tear drops that book shows for bands that look just like them in their "punk house 90210" with a capacity for 21 people, but.....I just don't like their music.

It could be a bad sign that the only shit that turns me on these days is new records by veterans of the art. I'll drive to Texas to see No Means No but won't trek down the block to see.....aw shit, not Avail, no...this is worse. Ugh I did, however, see Mojo Nixon and Shane Macgowan, in the same month, in New Orleans. That is rock n roll fun. Always have a book under arm. I carry all of Fantes books around my waist on a utility belt, not unlike Batmans, they push me through the years. And they're smaller than Kinks albums.

Keith — FL

CAMY WANTS US TO RAISE THINKERS... RATTLESNAKE SUPPORTS 'LONG WIND'!!!!

[I received a submission from her, and responded, that sure I would re-print it. Below general points score my problems with taking your kids out of the public school system. You can form your own opinion reading her replies, and her article this issue. With her points, and reading so much Kozol, I am more leaning to a 'workers' public school outside and alongside the public school system that we already have. I can't bow to the idea that some of us are smart so lets pull 'em. But Camy makes so many good points. Here is my attitude that was in letters back to Camy: 1) This society is so atomized, segregated by race and income, the last thing we want to do is separate ourselves even more. 2) It's economics. The more you support home-schooling the more you support inadvertently, right wingers and christian fundamentalists pull out, and thus more de-funding of public schools. The funding of which, sadly, is completely controlled by property owners and now corporations pushing privatization. A horrible step backward for democracy. 3) Leftists get caught up in the propaganda that public urban schools are so horribly violent. 99% of the mass shootings were in 'suburban towns' in the 90s by disaffected middle class. Not true-urban schools are not violent anymore than the white high school I went to in Ohio in the 70s. 4) We need to change what teachers are allowed to teach. Not where are kids are taught. Bringing the kids home, cuz the system teaches blind obedience, doesn't solve the problem that the vast majority of our workers' kids still are in the system. It smacks of the old hippie run to the safe haven of the hills thing to me. Not the taste of real progressive change we need, that is, we change us all and then we move forward. That said, like I said, Camy knows her shit. And NOW I don't have my old opinions about the subject without real reservations ...especially in putting the 'escapist' tag on homeschooling...]

Hello Tommy S.,

"Unschooling as a Political Activity" was published in the Fall 2000 issue of 'Food & Water'*(see note below). It condenses many of the thoughts I've had in the last decade as a mother/parent resisting the schooling establishment (and refusing, too, to wind my life around the core of other social machinery) and as an activist working for a more just society.

(I'd rather -in a way- that you just read the essay -let it speak for itself- but I'll bow to protocol and continue to explain that...) The particular angle of this essay was to explain my belief that as long as schools continue to model hierarchical social orders, and to indoctrinate children with visions of "progress" that conceal ecological thresholds and ignore ethical ones, they are involved in a kind of social engineering that is life-diminishing and reprehensible.

I believe the world could be organized for human happiness and health,.....

Camy continued.

biodiversity and beauty, but the struggle to achieve such a world will be hampered to the extent to which we continue to justify institutions that are structured to suppress cooperation, community, and freedom. . . . If education was freed from coercive institutions beholden to state and corporate agendas, people would have a far better chance to learn the truth about the society in which they live.

I've rambled on. . . please let me know if you would be interested in reprinting "Unschooling as a Political Activity". I thank you whole heartedly for your consideration and the generous request for contributions and dialogue. I enjoyed the first issue of 'Rattlesnake' enormously. Camy

Tommy,

...about printing my unschooling piece: wonderful! I understand the two sides a little bit: There are those who are worried about getting resources to save their kids right now, and therefore aren't as concerned about a 20 year organizing battle by which time their kids will have been long lost. I can understand the dilemma.

There are those who want an immediate solution and are blinded or paralyzed by the structural powers that can't be defeated right now. Then there are those who have a better understanding of the structural powers, but have less patience with desperate people whose kids are in danger right now.

Also, I know it's a terrible taboo to say this but I think too many parents have fallen prey to the government propaganda that claims it takes two incomes to raise a family supports this idea. Most of the women and men I knew who received the same training I did to join the ranks of the professional class I abandoned support this idea. And they often support this idea despite the fact that an economically unjustifiable portion of their income simply goes back into the overhead of their jobs, and what is leftover, in millions of dollars every year, goes into the binge of irresponsibility and indulgence, raping and wasting, that is euphemistically referred to as "shopping."

Blind to the larger moral issues, their children are warehoused and socialized to accept capitalistic orthodoxy, including: the "necessity" of being taught in order to be educated; the "inevitability" of competition; that schools are equitable conveyor belts for ambition and mobility; that academic pedigrees are the locus of social status; that making money is an adequate goal for life's work; and that consuming the world will compensate for the loss of freedom and ways of living that they left unexplored....

Those last two paragraphs are mostly excerpts from another piece I finished last week called "S is For Shame, M is for Mothering, F is for Fury" (which I would be happy to send to you if you are interested - though it is "out there" being considered by other editors).

I wrote "S is...." mostly because I was tired of the obstacles to dialogue created by the elitist assumption that you must be fairly well off to homeschool your kids. (My husband is a jazz pianist. We live off his meager income, but we have an extraordinary life.) One of the readers of Food and Water, for example, condemned me for this "naive oversight." His letter ended with this snide projection: "Hurry up kids, the Volvo is running. Today for science class we're going on a field trip to observe what life is like on the other side of the tracks."

This was my response:

"Yes, Neil Favreau, I do believe that a community of people that takes the time and has the humility to reconsider the way life works in America might do a far better job of "picking up the slack" than is currently being accomplished by the establishment. Many unschoolers are doing such work - that is a fact, not my fantasy. In Madison, WI for example, unschoolers are meeting with members of the African-American community to discuss the undeniable interrelationship between schools, money, and prisons.

Parents-of-color have begun to realize that the school system may NEVER advance their children by any fair margin or allow their children to become something "other than" what the circumstances of birth have brought them.

Now, the blind haven't been talking to blind here, nor was the conversation aborted when someone expressed the -all too familiar- presumption that homeschooling was a choice that exempted the poor. Rather, the conversation has flourished vigorously because both sides have been willing listen to each other, identify obstacles and erroneous assumptions, and work to overcome them.

Here in my corner of the world, single working mothers and fathers and parents below the poverty line are homeschooling their children in safe and stable environments. Unschooling is not of necessity a money-intensive undertaking, and most members of my unschooling community, irrespective of their level of financial income or cultural privilege, have embraced a strategy for living simply in everyday life because they believe it is the moral thing to do.

It takes less money than you think, and more imagination and resourcefulness to refocus the goals of human activity on meeting human needs together. With enough freedom and democracy, maybe a new politico-economy could emerge, one that might place emphasis on cooperation instead of competition; on the quality of necessities rather than the quantity of contrived "needs" and luxuries; on production for use rather than production for consumption, accumulation, and waste.

Am I tilting at windmills? Among others who are informing my vision of the good society, I think of Wendell Berry who was also told that he would never enlist enough people to bring about such a change. "People who talk that way," he wrote "are eager to despair, knowing how easy despair is. They want to give up all proper discipline and all effort, and stand like cattle in a slaughterhouse waiting their turn."

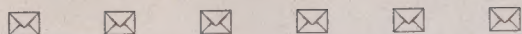
Rejecting despair, rejecting enterprises and institutions that are morally pernicious is not elitist. Anybody who wants to can begin it in themselves, in their households. Acting on your best hopes for the world you want your children to inherit, will enfranchise and validate them -both your hopes and your children- as no government or public policy ever will."

I am sorry to be so long winded, but it seems so necessary since the axis of understanding tilts so precariously if I'm not this careful. I appreciate your time.

Camy

p.s. I admire Kozol... and Ivan Illich (who argued not so much for the deschooling of society, but for the disestablishment of schools - in the same way the orthodoxy of the church was disestablished by individuals daring to think for themselves), Everett Reimer, and John Holt too. I am fortunate to have the friendship and support of John Oligher (in Madison, WI) who was their colleague back in the 60's and 70's). I found the 'Rattlesnake' at Lakeside Press in Madison, worker-owned, IWW I.U. 450). I went back and got a couple more copies to give to friends and in my absent mindedness forgot to pay for them. They told me to go ahead and send a check to you which I will do.

Tommy ...you know, I am most grateful for your open mindedness and this dialogue. I didn't feel very "lumped" by you at all. That's not to say, that I haven't been verbally thrashed by others including activists who -whether or not they are rich or poor- are still so governed in their thoughts and behavior by the paradigm that freedom has to be bought (like the custom of buying "leisure"), that they cannot believe that a simple and constructive life could be predicated on something besides what they call "class privilege." I had to go back to read my initial reply to you to remember what I



had said. Yeah, the issue is complicated (sigh). If you decide to print my last letter to you too, it's a little rough, but yes go ahead if you like. The only major narrative glitch was the sentence: "Also, I know it's a terrible taboo to say this but I think too many parents have fallen prey to the government propaganda that claims it takes two incomes to raise a family." ...it should have ended here. The last 3 words: "supports this idea" should be erased. Otherwise, again, you are welcome to excerpt and print at will with due recognition to 'Food & Water' for the article and my rebuttal letter to Neil Favreau. (Food & Water's website is <www.foodandwater.org> if you are interested in looking them up.)

Finally... yes, yes, yes I would love having copies of #1 to pass around. Despite whatever you (myopically) may think were its demerits, fonts, space, etc., I just really appreciated how much you collected in one place and how good and important it all was.

...I'd be delighted to pass the last issue around.

Carry

ANDREW MAN FROM MANCHESTER, YOU ARE A WRITER SO WRITE.....

Tommy

i gotcha a sort of manchester man in wonderland. apathy on both sides, similar right wing governments record low turn-outs at elections, fleeing to what? rich on these piss wages. in the mission like moss-side in manchester (gunchester) streets paid with gold, just exchange the crack for the weed and the crack for the scag, the polkas for the reggae and you could be on claremont road....

that kind of thing?

Andrew

KEITH WON'T WRITE UNTIL HE'S OVER 30.....

hello hardhat McGillacuddy,

[.....] As far as the new zine, I am motivated by the request (and almost intimidated), and I truly love to write, but it has been awhile. I hold literature as dear as water, and want very much to write my ass off, therefore am overly critical and self-discouraging. I will try to pull off something that doesn't get the "3 point shot" into the basket, but don't save any space. I am 26 and sometimes heed the call of some of my heroes to not even attempt to be read until at least 30! This weekend, downtown P-cola is filled with barricades and tents for...Gracefest '01!

A joyful celebration of our good lord and the gang, showcasing some of the fuckin finest Christian alt-rock/ gospel vocalists / and washed up Country artists that for one reason or another feel Jesus kicked their junk habits for them.

I will not show my face for a few days, unless the local gay community come marching down my street with b-ball bats. Why do I live in the south. Why do I live in the South. Why do I live...in....

Keith, FL



WARNING; THE NEXT FIFTEEN PAGES ARE COMPOSED OF JACK'S LETTERS AND MY VERY LONG REPLIES.

Proceed at possible eye strain....I didn't edit much....

Dear Tommy S.

June 13, 2001

Someone at Ak Press was kind enough to send me a copy of Rattlesnake (#1). I enjoyed it very much and was ecstatic at reading the reprints of articles by Emma Goldman, Rudolf Rocker and others. I hope the following issue(s) were just as good and informative.

The reason I decided to write was not simply to relay my appreciation and comments but to place my 2cents worth of opinions, "into the mix" because some of what was written needs commenting on. Yes, I know, just like assholes, everyone's got an opinion or comment (and why should I be any different?) and mine's no better than another's.

1. You need to proofread a little better, there were typos everywhere. You may have fixed this already as I have not seen the following issues. I made reading some of the articles/stories difficult and the article entitled, "Tom Brown's Syndicalism (Pages 16-18) was doubled up. Maybe your printer needs checking up on....no big deal though as all in all, a good journal.

2. The article by Richard Opalsky entitled, "the end of Chaos Through Anarchy" (Pages 5-6)....that's not anarchism he's expounding on, it's socialism, Pierre Joseph Proudhon never called himself an anarchist or thought of himself as one, he was a socialist and not one of "the fathers of anarchy". Mr. Opalsky's "version" of anarchism is not anarchism but a "semi" revision of socialist rhetoric, nothing more. His quotes(s) by Adolf Fischer (who wasn't an anarchist and shouldn't be quoted as being one) are, well, wrong. Anarchists are not socialists. period. He states that (Noam Chomsky), "one of our more cautious anarchists-although perhaps the greatest leader of anarchist thought today..." says...shit! Noam Chomsky is not nor ever has been an anarchist! Chomsky recently came out in favor of OSHA and agreed with Nader's comment about making voting compulsory! Voting? OSHA's regulations and laws? Chomsky is a radical socialist, at best, and anathema to anarchist thought. He has never called himself an anarchist and yet he's constantly cited as one. He is no more an anarchist than Nader or (for that matter) Bush. My. Opalsky's rhetoric is more sophist casuistry and nothing more. I'll put it succinctly...anarchist don't vote, don't make, pass, enforce, or promulgate laws, regulations or rules, don't form governments (yes, you can have an organization without a hierarchy) or "institutions," period. What they do is work together, sans government and institutions, live together sans same don't want "leaders" or government(s) or any socialist (bullshit) rewriting of anarchy.

3. I do understand why you need some of the leftist articles and ads but Tommy, they are not our friends! They are, at best (and only for very short periods, as needed) distant allies, nothing more. The socialists, Marxists, Leninists, Mao-ists and all their ilk have, time and again, proven to be just as bad an enemy as any fascist/right-winger and have routinely sold us out or murdered us all. We share one goal (obstinately agreed on by them) and that's social equality but they are not, "fellow travelers" anymore than a lion and a wildebeest, escaping from a raging grass fire are "fellow travelers" as they race, side by side, to escape the flames. You can bet that once safe someone's going to be lunch. "Those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it" is a cliché, not because it isn't true but because it's been repeated, by deed and by mouth, so often. They (leftists) have betrayed us over and over again (Russian revolutions and the Spanish Civil War to name two) and are not our friends. They wish to use laws and force to compel others to conform to their ideas of social reform. There hasn't been a single instance of any of their revolutions doing more than becoming another foot on the neck of, "the people",

whoever. As I said, I do understand that you need the advertisement and readership to survive as a journal but please, they are not to be trusted and they are not our friends and they will screw us, first chance, each and every time.

4. You might want to tell some of your advertisers and writers that their use of e-mail or web-site addresses is a little elitist (even for leftists) as, contrary to popular belief, most of the planet isn't connected to the internet and most of even the US doesn't own a computer. I'm talking about the couple who gave only computer addresses....they might try getting a PO Box for us poorer folks or go on about the "the downtrodden" while addressing the issue to/with the (other) elites. Just a suggestion.

5. You may also want to let your leftist (Marxist, Leninist, Maoist, socialist, etc....ad nauseum) subscribers, advertisers and writers onto a little secret....they're their own worst enemies and do more to divide and more to alienate people than the government and the fascist/right-wingers. Why? It was a skinhead who told me about your journal. He loved the anarchist writings (even "Red" Emma's) and used the "leftist" rhetoric to reinforce his views. How? There's a couple of articles (both by Chris Crass) concerning how "people of color" feel concerning other "people of color" and white radicals. They divide the world into "us" (people of color) and them (whites); there are white people and the rest of the world. Only white supremacists are commented on as if only white people are racist, only white radicals (those 'professional' leftists) are to be counseled and, as a rule, only whites are a problem. Me? I could care less as it's leftist (and leftist perception) rhetoric. I'm an anarchist and don't go to (or need to) those "people of color" for help. You don't see "them" (I'm white so I guess from my point of view everyone else is supposed to be an "other" or "them") carry any signs with a non-person-colors face or name on it saying "free _____" or signs/placards saying "Free ALL Prisoners" do you? No.

And that feeds directly into his (the skinhead mentioned) view that racism is a two-way street. Comments (in the article about Ms. Martinez' speech at a FNB picnic) where nearly the first thing said was, "...yes, the crowd was overwhelmingly white..." (page 140) just gives those little hate-filled bastards all the fuel they want to justify their hate. And makes me realize I am delighted, ecstatically so, to not be a "leftist". If you divide people you're doing a damn good job for the cops, ruling elite, and big (or little for that matter) government. But, what do you expect, Ms. Martinez is a communist (or was), she toured some of those "workers' paradises" like Soviet Russia, China Poland, etc, you know, the same ones where the anarchists were imprisoned, exiled, tortured and executed by other "enlightened" leftists....just like Ms. Martinez. Divide and conquer.....?

No, I'm not a skinhead, neo-nazi, klan member, separatist or even vaguely racist. I am an anarchist and have been one since I was about 15 (I'm 46 now). I am doing life in prison and I have been inside for over two decades now (11 years here at Pelican Bay State Prison) but no, not for anything related to anarchy or anarchist. My (then) rage, hair-trigger temper and carrying a gun put me here, not my anarchic lifestyle or activities. I have never voted (and can't now anyway), never had a driver's license, pay only what "Caesar" can make me pay (at the point of a rifle) and try to live my life as close to what anarchism, independent anarchism, strives for. I am not just "talking that talk" as some do. I've written two articles for "The Journal of Prisoners on Prison" and a story for "Climbing the Walls" plus artwork for the Haunuman foundation, all gratis, all non-copy-written, all for people and not my wallet or self-aggrandizement....Please excuse the writing, we've been on a lockdown for over twenty months and are given pen-fillers (the insides of a pen) to write with and our pens themselves confiscated. Wiggly little fuckers....

Anyhow, as you can see, I do have opinions. I've been around awhile and have watched, read and discussed, the world for a long, long, long time. I may not be a college graduate (or even finished high school for that matter), I may misspell words, I may ramble on my peripatetic way but I do know what I'm talking about. I do not mean to infer that every leftist is an enemy or deluded (completely) only that, even though they are trying to change the world (as most anarchists are), how they want to do so is the antithesis of what anarchism is or means. They do divide the "leftists" (and even us, at times) and are sometimes their own worst enemy. Over the last few years they have divided by race, sex, age and whether you're from a

"first" or "third" world country of zone. People divided never win, period. Yes you've got a lot of idiotic misguided whites (or "them") playing powerhouse radical and taking over grassroots ethnic meetings or organizations or forgetting that at any real confrontation with the ruling class or its lackeys they won't (99% of the time) bear the brunt of any reprisal(s).....Now to the Ms. Martinez' and Mr. Crass'I am shaven-headed, tattooed and have a criminal record a mile long, I'd be pulled off "the bus" as fast (or even faster in some places) as any African-American/Black, Latino/a or Asian (not to mention native-American) and if I was out I'd get my third-strike. I'm doing "life" so obviously I didn't get any special consideration and guess what....I'm white (Irish/Welsh), male, heterosexual and not disabled and yes, your rhetoric and "us and them" mentality does more to aid the enemy (or enemies) and disincludes me....I guess acting like "Mr. Gillmore" against "Mr. Gillmore" is "correct". Oh well, I do not care, I will continue to be an anarchist and call myself one and try to make this world a better place without laws, rules, regulations, governments, institutions and without excluding anyone who doesn't exclude me or try to force me to conform to their narrow-minded ideas.

Tommy, I do have a question....when did those idiots with the circle A shit get mistaken for anarchists? When did it become okay to use "force to compel" (violence against property is still violence and still force) against anyone (except in self-defense) for any reason such as like in Seattle, Washington, Los Angeles and Quebec? Who said John Zerzan is an anarchist? Him? He's about as much an anarchist as Trotsky was. Who said it was wrong to vilify pedophiles (children cannot determine what is or isn't okay so anything done to them is "force") or that their desires are wrong to discount? What misconstruing of anarchy allows anyone to even begin to accept this shit? To use force, in any way, shape or form to get anyone or any group to conform to any idea(s) is anathema. To me, they seem to be a bunch of future dot.com workers or owners or some old idiots hiding their nihilism under the flag of anarchist. Someone said they do more good for the police (and maybe get money....?) I'll reserve judgement, it's a leftist play to call people "agent provocateurs" without documentation or eye-witnesses....

They all dress alike, act alike, think alike ...sound like anarchists to you?

Well, I'm out of paper so....if you decide to respond to this please be aware that unless you mail me a copy I'll have no way to see it. I was earning 18 cents an hour but with the lockdown I'm reduced to begging or trading artwork for....Please remind your readers (if you do print this) that I'm in prison so talking shit from the safety of the outside is a cowardly act as I imagine I may piss a few people off, especially those "leftists" who never had an original thought in their life (follow fearless leaders party line) or a bunch of wannabe anarchists more akin to socialists than anarchism.

Lastly, it was a good read and again I'm very thankful to whomever at AK Press for sending me the copy.those people who want only "political prisoners" freed or just certain ones freed are missing the point, anarchists want no prisons and everyone goes free.

Respectfully Yours,
Jack Morris
C42642
Po Box 7500
Pelican Bay State Prison
Crescent City, CA 95531

Letters...first reply to Jack...

Hi Jack,

Your five page letter that I opened on a Sunday, ruined my breakfast, gave me relapse of gut acid, and cancelled my whole daily plans. It was that much appreciated. If I get more and more letters from prisoners, I will go past six issues on this, even at continued large monetary loss.

Call me a bleeding heart, but I can't stomach so many lives being ruined and wasted in prison...against ALL facts of the success of real rehabilitation programs...the connection of poverty to violent crime...the VERY low percentage of repeat violent offenders doing violence when into their 40's of the two million in prison/jail....and even with murderers, the very low percentage of repeat murder by ex's being released over the age 45. On top of this, I have read too much the past ten years about our court system, and know too much of wrong convictions and class and race bias within the system that is BACKED up by even mainstream press articles. The three strike laws have been proven to be an inhumane response and give even more discretion to politically motivated and appointed DA's which further exacerbates the race/class bias.

Let me be rambling in response. Only in my forum am I allowed this. When I venture outside to the world of liberal/right forums of "punk"/alt.com mags/or local liberal weeklies, I am censured for being a babble of ideas and opinions. I have been called a 'spew of left diarrhea'. Nice to get letters from people like you that have the same problem.

I am assuming that anyone that reads the Rattlesnake's letter column has some sensibility for the trials and inhuman conditions that prisoners in the US face and hope that us outsiders see with compassion. I assume my readers are part of the large un-pollled minority that feel different and share my anger. The hypocrisy and sick irony that in the most free country in the world, the media and politicians have brainwashed the majority, though a slight majority, into believing that prison is a 'country club' or too lax. That rehabilitation in whatever form, or in whatever forms the workers, sociologists, 'left' experts would argue, is not allowed in the argument. The parameters of discussion about the court/prison system have been so narrowed within society, that the present structure and institutions of this part of the US represents all the facets of a totalitarian system: that of a corporation though completely entangled with civic society and deciding the fates of citizens, can go about stabilizing and reinforcing its anti-democratic and often illogical (in a human rights sense) pursuit of power without allowing any criticism or reform from the 'outside'.

Let me say a few things before I argue with your letter. I think many if not most anarchists in the USA and perhaps the UK have fallen into a marxist-leninist trap of ledge and pit. That if you are even leaning on the edge. You are bound to fall into the pit. That hole being the authoritarian trap of leninist authority party dictatorship....and then logically follows the nightmare of Stalin.....that end most of all people would agree...but still my argument is..

That we are often in appearance to the 'regular' public, at least since the 60's, assuming by bold know-it-all statements a predicted movement of masses of people. Which in itself is a modern fallacy or modern twisting of Marxism. That all events are foregone. That one step leads to another. This Marxist scientific thought denies the vitality of un-predictable spontaneous and bottom up organizing and deems a static belief in the future and a base belief in a predictable continuity of political and economic progress that defies and denies the last one hundred years of history in the industrial democracies as well as anti-authoritarian elements that surface in previously Marxist third world uprisings.

Example: What Marxist would have predicted the temporary victory of the CNT in 1936? And that its members (the majority of Spain's workers-the CP only gained control later with Stalin's infusion of assassins, money and arms)... to turn industry/manufacturing around to do heroic and victorious battle against two other centralized fascist economies: Italy and Germany aiding Franco, and then collectivize much of the land within only 6 months! Without an entrenched statist centralized bureaucracy!

I believe this strain of thought that ALL is of-this-or-that, pit or ledge, double-yellow line-down a highway is infecting American anarchism....which was once the most open and free variants of liberation economics, social discussion and a base of vibrant springs of philosophy. Historically of all left politics, anarchism use to have the most all-encompassing inspiring ability to mix the social with the economic with the belief and faith of our 'human nature' to make decisions based on a constantly changing world. And another infection of capitalist and Marxist-Leninist thought I believe is the idea that the 'masses', the mislabeled uneducated, and the "lumpenproletariat"(what a vicious anti-democratic category)all can only think in ONE direction at a given moment. That while we anarchists, no matter what variant, who possess a fanatical day-to-day espoused fear (and do continuous battle) against authoritarianism, hierarchies and the damn-all-democracy effects of bureaucracies, cannot carry these aspects into our struggles to make a better life for workers; that we cannot fight for those piecemeal tiny gains without abandoning our purpose of propaganda for the social revolution and infection of workers with our 'propaganda'. Our lives, desires, and based-in-history opinions are more complex. That if an SF anarchist is fighting for a one-issue like rent control, or retention of a few hundred low-income units in North Beach and has to align/get support from liberals/leftists that suddenly he or she is infected with the authoritarianism of these allies on that fight. This argument to me, depreciates (an understatement) the facilities of comprehension and analytic processes that all humans are capable of.

I hope that you don't think that I advocate a CP-USA commie 'boring within' strategy: that you can enter an undemocratic party or union and then drastically change it. Or that spending millions of workers' hours and wages to launch a third party candidate is desirable or more presently important than organizing truly community based and directly democratic syndicalist unions.

I am merely stating, and below will back it up with our heroes, that our lives, our thought processes, our inspiration that guides us, is part of the beauty inherent in our makeup and is very complex, unpredictable but at the same time, and this is part of our contradiction as beings, generally follows a very rational line of reasoning. We are capable of very intricate socially influenced ambitions and actions. We have an amazing capability to be the belligerent one day, and a humble observer the next. We possess the biggest hearts of all animals. We can switch from vengeance to forgiveness in one day. We can show compassion for complete strangers that have no tangible attachment to our own needs. The last alone, has inspired creative and unexplainable (by right-wing standards) progressive actions in every corner, alley, and jungle of our planet.

We can espouse faith for a better world in the face of terrible adversity. Such is the human.

Remember the Mayan Guatemalans that after seeing their neighbors gunned down in the town's courtyard, or their children impaled on stakes, farming neighbors machine gunned or.... had family members and spokespeople disappear, still struggled to do such simple things as buy a truck collectively to deliver their produce. There are daily instances of unbelievable 'anarchist' action and struggle without any anarchists being involved. To close in and barricade our miniscule ranks, including only those and

what we deem responsible and 'identified' as anarchist would be disastrous to our philosophies' all encompassing truth.

What I do advocate is that any anarchist can be involved in day-to-day struggles to better the condition of people and that this will help spread our 'propaganda' and most importantly re-instill the traditional focus of anarchism....that fighting for the people's basic SURVIVAL needs are concomitant with the traditional thrust of anarchist philosophy. We can't hide in a hole while in the richest country in the world, malnutrition, lack of housing and medical care is stunting the potential of generations, and literally killing our neighbors. We have a responsibility as anarchists, to love and respect and back it up with common sense action if possible or reasonable as decided by that INDIVIDUAL's cognition and personally perceived abilities. We can't deny action when our gov't is still massacring thousands of people a year, and destroying even bourgeois democracies the world over. These are not 'steps' I advocate, such as the role assumed by the stagnate Social Democrat leadership of Germany in 33 that allowed the Nazi's to stage a coup...waiting for the next round of voting to 'vote' out an already viciously violent forming police state. I am not saying 'wait' for all countries to become bourgeois democracies and then we move on in the future. I am simply saying that if we are anarchists, we must defend all workers and thus all parts of the earth. Yet we are so complex, innately intelligent (take the matter of learning language in just 3 years after birth!) that we are certainly capable of wide angle focus and action.

Whew! Sorry. Another thing that pains me that you have life in that box, is that I can't have this discussion face to face, and then buy you a pint of Sierra Nevada just for listening!

A concern I have with some of today's American anarchists, is that the breadth of interpretations of the words politics and democracy have been handed over to the right wing. As if, the ideas are the right's turf and ideas, and thus voided out of discussion or analysis. A bastardization of anarchist free analysis and a sickening twist of victory for pinched-face intellectually crippled pundits of the right....

In many 'anarchist' zines., politics means only voting between gore and bush, and that any pressure you put on municipal politicians, say for housing demands or citizen overview of police or inquiries into treatment of the homeless workers or demand that a cop be tried for murder, is viewed as 'playing politics'. An attack from the left comes upon these derided 'reformist' anarchists, and leftists who are trying to save lives and/or institute some administrative law that will restrain future abuse and/or push people to learn how gains are only realized from bottom up organizing. A lesson that stays with workers for life twofold: they realize that real gains, or hold-backs are only achieved by direct action, and bottom up organizing (which then results in laws) and that American left-leftists can be so strangled by constricting rules they will attack the other leftists that are fighting for workers rights. Sure to alienate those involved in the good fight, and sure to reinforce the authoritarian-left's mantra that all anarchists prove you need a party hierarchy.

I read recently is some anarchist zine, an entire article that attacked democracy within the context of attacking capitalism. In the parameters of this insanity, the writer assumed, and didn't even slightly make a point of arguing, that the readers understood democracy as being the enforced will of a rich majority over people. That democracy=hierarchies=capitalism= oppression. I am truly dumbfounded, to see how a large group of free-thinking anarchists could equate the idea of discussion, spread of information and ideas, and voting (in its many forms both open and restricted) as completely walled in within the confines of representative capitalist democracy. That its very language roots could be ignored by anarchists!!!!!!

What's next? I'm not allowed to say that the US Constitution and its bill of rights was a very progressive document for its times-no matter who wrote it? Democracy? It is an economic construct only dictated by Milton Friedman Chicago/Harvard school of economics such as "free trade"??????

I don't need to go into history too much here. I think you and the

readers are frightened as I am, that the word itself, with 1000 or more years of historical struggle behind it, and with our own intelligent view of the many forms and faces of 'democracy', can thus be sealed in a coke vs. pepsi can and put on the shelf.....in the name of anti-authoritarianism and to do battle against closet Marxists ...or those anarchist syndicalists!!!! Erase the theme of democracy from discussion by labeling it bourgeois! And what did the killer Lenin say about this 'word' also.....? Interesting parallel. I am sure Mao had very blanket statements about democracy also. And we now what Stalin and Hitler thought about 'voting'.....

Here is my very big point. No one in this country thinks voting changes anything. 70% of the population doesn't vote. 60% of the registered(!) voters don't either. It's condescending to say to them, or to put up flyers, that say voting doesn't change anything. We all know that. And it's not 'reformist' to vote for a third party or a referendum on the ballot. Most workers know the system cannot be REFORMED. It's something that people do to 1)show their anger 2)to attempt to limit capital's rampage over human rights and the environment and 3)to register their opinion against some horrible attack on human rights....and of course 4) what rightists do to batter workers and tax them more and consolidate their control of a system they are often part of (the top 10%) or feel (wrongly) in control of (the next 30% down).

Again let me reiterate that we are all capable of very complex thought processes involved in every decision and opinion and action we pursue. It is very degrading to assume people (anarchists/workers) are not capable of sitting in a room of liberals and socialists (are they ISO or Mao Moonies -RCP?-easy to figure really-Is she a local clinton/gore hack? Ask her about the drug war.....) and discern if this 'one-issue' is worth his/her work. All activists that I put under the umbrella of anarchist thought or views (no matter what they label themselves) ask themselves this question everytime they are at a meeting, or civil action: "Am I compromising myself too much?" Or will a minor victory help some people to make my contradictions worth it?

That was the beauty of traditional anarchism. Our heroes, theorists, militant big hearts, never told us to specifically follow certain rules but fight for a better world, and in that fight to use our best judgement. They advised us. They recounted experiences. They warned us. They reported victories and losses. They were the ultimate bearers of truth, painful, embarrassing, or inspiring. But in every propaganda tome, or essay or biographical thesis, anarchists always held up the compassion of rebels, the beauty of struggle in face of sure failure, the little gains to ensure a better life for workers, and always the endearing fascination with peoples' creativity which has a habit annoying to the ruling class of grasping without 'education' the basic ideas of liberation, justice and democracy that would make the world peaceful and environmentally sustainable.

So after that all out of this infected mouth, let me disagree Jack with your complete fobia of the idea of "socialism" and its appearance in any form of anarchist discussion. From the mid-1880's to the early 1920's, the word was spoken positively by anarchists of all kinds. They then attacked 'socialists' and statist marxists, especially after Marx engineered the Hague vote to oust all libertarians and anarchists out of the International and then to institute a policy of support for ballot box nation-state centralized socialist economics. There was a marked difference between 'socialism' as an economic idea, and that of the 'socialist's' way of achieving economic justice.

I could argue that the authoritarian version of socialism infected Germany so horribly that it tendered the result of the Nazi's gaining control in a liberal democrat-engineered coup.

Letters...reply to Jack continued...

But that's a whole 'nother five pages. And that you would probably agree with.

The point is, the political and economic structure of 'socialism' was up for debate. The 'socialists' of this century changed that. And the police states of 'communist' countries makes that word, here is an understatement, almost unusable in the present.

Here are quotes from our heroes. And if these people, as some Zerzan, neo-primitives claim, aren't "anarchists", then those finger pointers should come up with a new name. Perhaps, we can suggest...the Nihilists.....Cuz if we damn Emma, Bakunin, and Malatesta, we may as well throw every book, historical or literary, from the Enlightenment, France 1789, Spain 36, Russia 1915.... into the pyres. If anarchism has no history, then it has no future.

This is not a battering upon you. You don't have a library there. I am passing on parts of what you can find. There would be a wealth more from these same that attack socialism as when it becomes a statist political system. And it is VERY easy to take writings out of context from great writers and thinkers. I admit I could be playing that game. The bastardization of Nietzsche by Nazis is an example. And Bob Black's simpleton attacks on the intriguing social ecologist/anarchist Murray Bookchin being another. I am simply doing all I can to stop this 90's version of absolutist dogmatic "anarchism"....that I see in almost all 'zines I pick up these days. And see in some 'respected' magazines that are so rife with deconstructionist gobbly-goooo that a worker can do nothing but through it across the room and fume in despair...."my god, what have they done?"

Bakunin: "What the masses want above all is their immediate economic emancipation; this emancipation is for them equivalent to freedom and human dignity, a matter of life or death. If there is an ideal that the masses are today capable of embracing with passion it is economic equality. And the masses are a thousands times right, for as long as the present condition is not replaced by economic equality, all the rest, all that constitutes the value and dignity of human existence — liberty, science, love, intelligence, and fraternal solidarity—will remain from them a horrible and cruel deception."

And "...On the one hand, the political and philosophical questions must be excluded from the program of the International. On the other, they must necessarily be discussed. How can this seeming contradiction be resolved? The problem will solve itself by liberty. No political or philosophical theory should be considered a fundamental principle, or be introduced into the official program of the International. Nor should acceptance of any political or philosophical theory be obligatory as a condition for membership,But it does not follow from this that free discussion all political and philosophical theories cannot occur in the International. On the contrary, it is precisely the very existence of an official theory that will kill such discussion by rendering it absolutely useless instead of living and vital, and by inhibiting the expression and development of the worker's own feelings and ideas. As soon as an *official truth* is pronounced—having been scientifically discovered by this great brainy head laboring all alone—a truth proclaimed and imposed on the whole world from the summit of the Marxists Sinai, why discuss anything?"

And (speaking more of Marx's coup of the International) "...It is worth noting that in Italy, as in Spain, the program of Marxist state communism has had absolutely no effect, while

the program of the famous Alliance of revolutionary socialists (anarchist vanguard organization), which proclaimed uncompromising war against all domination, all tutelage and governmental authority, was overwhelmingly and enthusiastically accepted by the workers."

Part of K of the 1866 Revolutionary Catechism: "The basic unit of all political organization in each country must be the completely autonomous commune, constituted by the majority vote of all adults of both sexes. No one shall have either the power or the right to interfere in the internal life of the commune. The commune ELECTS (my emphasis) all functionaries, lawmakers, and judges.The commune must also accept the judgements of the provincial tribunal and any measures ordered by the government of the province."

(Ok I have to admit this is in the early years, but it is interesting that the word 'government' appears here in what is obviously just a direct democratically elected federated sense.-ts)

1870- "As long as the German workers seek to set up a national state—even the freest People's State— they will inevitably and utterly sacrifice the freedom of the people to the glory of the State, *socialism to politics* (my emphasis-ts), justice and international brotherhood to patriotism. It is impossible to go in two different directions at the same time. Socialism and social revolution involve the destruction of the State: consequently, those who want a state must sacrifice the economic emancipation of the masses to the political monopoly of a privileged part.The S.W. D.P would sacrifice the economic, and with it, the political emancipation of the proletariat—or more correctly said, the emancipation from politics and the State—to the triumph of bourgeois democracy." (Predicting what led to WW1—Rosa and Emma later predicted the complete militarization and patriotism dangerous to the world after— with the Social Democrats increasingly statist, top-down bureaucratic and supporting patriotic platforms leading to the easy coup by the Nazis)

Malatesta 1920's- "Socialism, the aspiration to socialism, in the broad sense of the word, appears as a problem of distribution is so far as it is the spectacle of the poverty of workers compared with the comfort and luxury of the parasites, and the moral revolt against the blatant social injustices which have driven the victims, and all men of feeling, to seek and to advocate better ways of living together in society. But the achievement of socialism—be it anarchist or authoritarian, mutualist or individualist, etc—is above all a problem of production. When the goods do not exist, it is useless to seek the best way of.....Fortunately today the means of production abound. ...But one has to work, and to do so usefully one must have the know-how; how to do the work and how to organize it in the most economical way."

"If anarchists want to act effectively in competition with the various political parties, they must study in depth—each one the branch with which he is most familiar—all the theoretical and practical problems related to useful work."

And Malatesta again "Anarchists must recognize the usefulness and the importance of the workers' movement, must favor its development, and make it one of the levers for the action, doing all they can so that it, in conjunction with all existing progressive forces, will culminate in a social revolution which leads to the suppression of classes to complete freedom, equality, peace and solidarity among all human beings. But it would be a great and fatal illusion to believe, as many do, that the workers' movement can and must on its own, by its very nature, lead to such a revolution. ON the contrary, all movements bounded on material and immediate interests (and a mass working class movement cannot be founded on anything else), if the remnant, the drive and unremitting efforts of men of ideas struggling and making sacrifices for an ideal future are lacking, tend to adapt themselves to circumstances, foster a conservative spirit, and the fear of change in those who manage to improve their conditions, and often end up by creating new privileged classes and serving to support and consolidate the system which one would want to

destroy." "The task of anarchists is to work to strengthen the revolutionary conscience of organized workers and to remain in the Unions as anarchist.

It is true that the Unions, for pressing reason, are often obliged to engage in negotiations and accept compromises. *I do not criticize them for that*, (my emphasis) but it is for this very reason that I have to consider the Unions as essentially reformist. We prefer intelligent workers, even if they are our opponents, to anarchists who are such only in order to follow us like sheep. We want freedom for everybody; we want the masses to make the revolutions for the masses."

And Malatesta in his anarchist Programme "While preaching against every kind of government, and demanding complete freedom, we must support all struggles for partial freedom, because we are convinced that one learns through struggle, and that once one begins to enjoy a little freedom one learns by wanting it all. We must always be with the people, and when we do not succeed in getting them to demand a lot we must still seek to get them to want something: and we must make every effort to get them to understand that however much or little they demand should be obtained by their own efforts and they should despise and detest whoever is part of, or aspires to, government. Never must we accept any kind of legislative position, be it national or local, for in doing so we will neutralize the effectiveness of our activity as well as betraying the future of our cause." (Notice he talks logically about not accepting paid positions within, but does not damn anyone for voting for left officials-ts)

Emma meets Eugene Debs : "Whatever the politicians in his party might be doing, I was sure that he was decent and high-minded. His belief in the people was very genuine, and his vision of socialism quite unlike the State machine pictured in Marx's communist manifesto. Hearing his views, I could not help exclaiming "Why Mr. Debs, you're an anarchist!" "Not Mister, but Comrade," he corrected me; "won't you call me that?" Clasp my hand warmly, he assured me that he felt very close to the anarchists, that anarchism was the goal to strive for, and that all socialists should also be anarchist. Socialism to him was only a stepping-stone to the ultimate ideal, which was anarchism. "I know and love Kropotkin and his work," he said "I admire him and I revere all our murdered comrades that lie in Waldheim, as I do also all the other splendid fighters in your movement. You see, then, I am your comrade. I am with you..."

(Emma) "I pointed out that we could not hope to achieve freedom by increasing the power of the State, which the socialists were aiming at. I stressed the fact that political action is the death-knell of the economic struggle. Debs did not dispute me, agreeing that the revolutionary spirit must be kept alive notwithstanding any political objects, but he thought the latter a necessary and practical means of reaching the masses."

We parted good friends. Debs was so genial and charming as a human being that one did not mind the lack of political clarity which made him reach out at one and the same time for opposite poles."

Emma "France had been the cradle of anarchist thought, fathered for a long time by some of her most brilliant sons, of whom Proudhon was the greatest."

Noam Chomsky has called himself an anarchist and syndicalist consistently since the 60's Have you seen Manufacturing Consent?

Noam says among many other anarchist points "Every State is violent"....and that for a new world we need "free association, worker management of all resources..." and has been a fist pounder (for Noam) man promoting direct democracy. He calls himself an anarchist several times with euro journalists in that doc.

And mentions 'libertarian revolutions' such as Spain 36 as a progressive step. I could go over Noam more but I think it is such

an obvious point. I can only figure that with your lack of resources, and maybe getting some "90's anarchist" zines you have been misled. Perhaps Imagine zine from AZ? I like the editor, but I disagree completely with his attacks on Chomsky and Zinn. Chomsky's day-to-day activities, attacking with scholarship all institutions and media propaganda systems, while always promoting bottom-up organizing against capitalism in an anarchist way, have done more to promote discussion and promote resistance than any other modern American alive. The battle to stop massacres in East Timor, carried on by thousands of our citizens is only one example of a 'good fight' that he has been partially personally responsible for. How many more would have died there under Clinton's military funding if not for the thousands that spent years battering the press and House against continued funding? Admittedly, while Clinton was declaring the elections there free a few years ago, 1/3 of the population still had to flee into the hills....but the genocide that happened in 1975 could not be repeated due to international awareness and pressure. Noam can take much credit for this.

Malatesta again, "Alone we cannot subdue fascism, even less destroy existing institutions. So either we must unite with those who, though not anarchists, share short term, common objectives with us, or allow that the fascists, with the connivance of the government, should be free to terrorize the country, or that the monarchy should go on ruling undisturbed.

But in "revolutionary alliances" one is always "betrayed". Possibly one is. *But we prefer to run the risk of being betrayed by others, than betray ourselves to the point of extinction through inaction.*" (my emphasis)—(this last one is going on the union hall's wall in big letters to make everyone think hard before they point fingers)

And Jack, Opalsky submitted that geared-to-the-mainstream article to me and later said he wasn't sure it should be printed, and that maybe he is not an anarchist. We could drive him away by tightening a dogmatic grip, or welcoming his views and research, as I did by printing it. And I would print any 'leftist' or socialist that does not obviously advocate a vanguard party or authoritarian principle. On top of that, I see the need for workers getting information. This information may be accurately relayed by "non-anarchists". I have no problem with that. Nor should you. There is a wealth of heart and mind out there that is not being even touched by mainstream media. And when it is, the books, and articles are often out of the usual workers' wages. Most clean left monthlies and quarterlies are \$4 or more. What stranger is gonna pay that for a 40 page magazine? And the editors wonder why their circulation doesn't go up....when workers wages have dropped 10 to 20% since 1970 here.....The purpose of this journal is to pass on information and open a forum for discussion and advocate anarchist syndicalism as a method of organizing for progress AND laud contemporary workers for their progressive struggleand put a very small bridge amongst us.

Ok again, now I would buy your third pint of Sierra Nevada, just for listening, as long as the gun was left at home. (Shit, bad joke, but I too have a very violent temper, and can see if things were not so 'good' for me in my life as a part of the camaraderie of punk rock in the early 80's, always finding jobs, and surrounded by very good friends...I could too be behind bars!)

None of the ads in the first issue, and as of now, in the 2nd issue have been paid for. It was something 'nice' I did for free for org's and small presses that I thought worthy. I SHOULD be getting paid ads. I should be on the phone getting that 40 or 20 bucks per quarter page. I did 20 years in the service sector. I got the experience. But I couldn't do it. I'm tired of all that

Letters, reply to Jack continued...

shit..... I even mailed the first issue to all the 30 labels, indie labels that I did good work for in my 15 years at Mordam Records. Actually I would take ads by any corporation if they would give me the money. If an ad is a social comment, I have the right as editor to add comment. Give me their money! It won't come...butHey David Horowitz, print here! And I will tear apart that shit.....ideas and information are more powerful than some reactionary crap that only covers a couple of the five 'W's of journalism, or as a 1/2 page ad of a magazine. The often irritating liberal weekly The Nation had a letters column going cuz readers were upset they took ads from FLAME—a right-wing Zionist org (as opposed to left-wing, there is still a difference). I chuckled. That these letter writers thought I was so uneducated that I would be swayed by FLAME's reactionary diatribes over Israel's occupied land in Gaza and the left bank. I guess I am out in boob head land on this, but I don't care about ads...though you can imagine if money did come in, there would be certain types of ads I would not be able to lay out....too angry to even look at them, nor expect my readers to. Yes a contradiction. We will see if it comes. I doubt it.

Only four labels from my last job (Prank, Alternative Tentacles, Empty, Broken Rekids) even replied. Such is 'business' and appreciation of hard work. A suck fish always has big lips that turn to appropriate trough. Alternative 'rock' as long as it means haircuts only. I haven't gotten a fucken dime from anyone for this newsprint ass-wipe.

Also, my fault if I listed email only for any one. I know that only the top third have access.

AND I forgot to list "Free to Prisoners". I guess I thought that was a given.

Jack tell everyone you can, that they must write me. What are the days and life like in Pelican Bay...or in Marion? How can you deal with only a few books that fit in the locker? I've watched The Farm (Angola, I know HBO prod. But really good...) about 5 times. The men's tired lined faces fascinate me...how they deal with it. I've read narratives like you wrote for. Cells 8 x 12 feet only? And 23 hours within that? The exercise yard is 15 x 30 with no weights or equipment? No phone calls from 'strangers'? I wish I could promise that things may change in the next ten years. And some of our lifers would be released and THEN helped on the outside. But as you all know our society is getting more vicious day by day towards the entire general population.

I think that when you read people like Chris Crass and Benita's words via his mouth, that you have to understand they are speaking to a relatively privileged mostly white radical audience in the Bay Area. This is finally changing. And people like Chris are helping with that. I think you have to inject the term 'whitebread' for white in these types of radical discussions. That they wouldn't give any short shift to really down and out white workers.... And it is safe to assume they are both very aware of the horrible conditions in our prisons, and at that level a 'white worker' is no better off. What is true, is that in the process up to sentencing, white workers do have a big leg up. The stats prove it. 60% of black teenagers get mandatory sentences while only 20% of white do. All mandatory sentencing is up to the prosecutor whether to pursue. The mass of police crackdowns are directed at urban areas which these days are mostly brown, black and asian. Hence the outrageous population of black prisoners compared to nation make-up under the drug war though their drug use and sales, as admitted by our own gov't stats, are the same as whites. Really there is tons of proof since Nixons taped comments, that the whole drug war was a way to throw blacks in prison. And since the late 80's Latinos too. If our cities still had a

large white urban poor population, they would be more represented in according to population. This mass incarceration is a 'color' thing mostly, but I agree, that it has a sinister class bias underlying it throughout. I feel, after much study via books and mass media, that it is directed by upper class voters (who out-vote the poor, and are 95% white, by a 3 to 1 margin) against the "blacks" and "mexicans"....but tens of thousands of white workers get caught up in the same class-biased court system, and then if my mag gets into prisons, are befuddled by me saying "it's a racist drug war." We aren't recognizing the white workers enough perhaps in an obvious way, but I feel that most readers when they realize a writer is white, assume that the white radical is attacking the upper class whitebread power structure, not the whites that are on strike now as we speak. And Chris is pleading with our circle of white radicals to make more of an effort to understand other people's lives and the effects of race oppression on top of economic. A typical anarchist construct really. We need input from all corners of the working class to educate EACH other. Not to degrade colored workers/people by hanging them up on the wall as 'victim' of the race war. And then to sell t-shirts with the image.

So, my 'center' of this magazine as in history remembered, is no consolation to a poor white worker that got the shaft, unless he/she already has the facilities to see beyond one's own walls. Or, that in his/her totally then unprivileged position he has to put up with racist shit on the street or in prison from workers of color. I could go on for ten pages of recent white-worker-against-black history just since the 50's. With very hard facts about the Teamsters, AFL, cities segregating and cutting off funds outside the respectable white enclaves....but you don't need that—you know Jack. Rest assured, that any white worker would he/she be ex-racist, southern, or ex-felon, or ex-middle class, would be welcomed with open arms into our syndicalist union as much as anyone else, native or not. I can think of 100 anarchists in this city that would toast them all walking into our union hall.

We are all moving forward despite the barrage of mainstream media reinforcing all stereo-types. But day-to-day experience does color our views. As it does that skinhead in Pelican Bay. We, as anarchists, or socialists, have to be more rational and think things through and recognize history and its economic affects. This is happening amongst all colors here in SF. I can feel the difference in just ten years.

In possession of rational facilities, later after I get threatened on the street, I have to realize that the anti-white racism I occasionally experience in the Mission District, is no where near as threatening as what a latino/a or black experiences. The racism against them involves jobs, housing denial, juries (often containing middle class blacks) that decide guilt by 'look', and the ever prevalent police searches and harassment. This happens outside my window weekly. I NEVER see white hipsters getting thrown face down when they are drunk or suspected of something. Yep, there is much class bias involved here. But it's hard for young kids to tell the difference between the yuppie landlord and me. We will change that. The mantra must be "a worker is a worker"....and NO ONE can be treated within our context of face-to-face democracy as lesser or less worthy of united defense.

Besides all that somewhat confusing mish-mash above, I would add that white workers as well as black, as well as Asian (a category that includes over 50 nations; races, thousands of dialects and histories) as well as Latino (see Asian), must learn USA's real racist history, the power structures involved including the shitty crap business unions since the 40's, but then just as importantly must learn of the heroes of all colors. American history is rich with bottom-up organizing. I learn more everyday since I have had the leisure time to do so.

Ask the skinhead why his heroes aren't the THOUSANDS of whites that assisted in slave revolts from 1800 to before the civil

war. And they did this in a society that treated blacks as complete sub-humans. Many of these revolts had the cause of land for all too. That takes an amazing amount of guts for a white in the south in the early 1800's to leave 'your society' and fight for justice. Apetheker's 'Slave Revolts' has this documented history.... among other texts. Why would this racist instead chose leaders and economics that would then subjugate him to be role of slave? Absurd....as all 'race' analyses are without history, class and economics brought in. But this real history is not taught in our schools and for the most part, not even taught in our expensive universities. Over half the important books I have read in the past year are not even offered in junior and senior Berkley classes. I checked. They are still getting, well maybe a couple of profs offer chomsky and zinn and there are sociology classes that give a credible history of SNCC etc within the mostly bottom up civil rights movement..... but the rest are 'approved' leader orientated and capital victory texts. See Loewens "Lies Our Teacher Told Us"...it still holds true in these 'high' institutions....

And then the lie of affirmative action. It didn't help blacks one bit. The majority of black workers are deeper in poverty than in the 70's. And a black college graduate makes half what a white one does. It's fact.

It doesn't mean that the angry lower class white has to prostrate him/herself before the hammer of history and turn into a jelly of submission to the 'worker of color'.....it only means the white workers should fight on two fronts....that against the racism from the upper class that holds our brothers and sisters still farther down...and that of uniting all, across borders and colors for a better world. Will the 'color's' do it also?

They do it everyday in my experience. As whites do! We simply have to get our heads off the TV sets and outta the skewed and biased mass media and meet face-to face and fight side-by-side. History then will become a bridge rather than a ball and chain.

We will make mixed communities and families in our urban areas. Because that is 'human nature'. To bond and cherish across all boundaries even under a structured uncivil society that tells us it is hopeless. From your 20 years in prison, I bet you can recount thousands of instances where complete strangers became 'family' or brother, in a situation and against mainstream 'logic' that people on the outside could not imagine. How many times have you seen people in there shed tears when someone close to them lost an appeal? I hope that you and others can recount this to the readers, to brutally remind them of how common and one we all are. We have to harness this phoenix and power the turbine. The sound of 'popular opinion' is the sound of crickets chirping through USA Today polls. When the 'people' are told the 'people' sound like a chorus of insects, we should know we have to wield the insecticide ourselves.

ACK! More Malateta for you from "Limits of Political Co-existence": " But freedom, even a relative freedom, is not won by helping government but by making it feel the danger of squeezing the people too far.....For my part , I do not believe there is "one solution" to the social problems, but a thousand different and changing solutions in the same way as social existence is different and varied in time and space.we must in our daily conduct as well as in our projects for the future, always bear in mind that we are not, and will not in the foreseeable future, be living in a world populated only by anarchists. For a long time to come we shall be a relatively small minority. To isolate ourselves is virtually impossible, but even if we could it would be at the expense of the SOCIAL TASK (my emphasis-ts) we have undertaken, as well as of our own personal well-being. "

As an end note. I would like to paraphrase Alex Cockburn's answer to a stupid letter he got in the Anderson Valley

Advertiser...He replied thus..."re-read the writing TWICE before you fire off a hysterical reply "... Jack's letter is written from the most totalitarian situation a human being could live in. I noted, as you should, he says over and over that he said 'this is my opinion...' and he does not tell me I should be drawn and quartered as many neo-anarchists would.

The only thing worse for him, and thousands of others, would be constant physical torture. Rich Americans may convince the powerful minority here that this would be the next warranted step.

Already many people in prison are subjected to torture as in beatings, withdrawal of basic medical necessities, and the worst that you can do to a human being.... complete isolation.

All psychiatrists admit this can bring on psychosis and irreversible emotional duress.

The only thing worse would be, that we as activists, compassionate workers, let it go even farther. I can even see that the few last stopgaps of human rights laws in the US court system could be lost. The right of legal immigrants to organize in left unions was already destroyed by Clinton, with no screaming in the 'left' press 'cept by the truly compassionate and anarchist Cockburn.(see the Anti-Terrorism law of 96-did any of you read it??). I hope anarchists in the US, don't get so left-lost that we wouldn't fight for these basic protective laws, or at the least, raise funds for such fights. The ballot box CHANGES nothing, but it is up to each worker as to whether we give up what has been gained. How you fight, is of course, not dictated by dogma or leaders. It is up to your common sense and cognition.

And Jack, what all can I send? I understand books have to go through authorized channels.

OH, and I have no problem with the Black Bloc bashing corporate windows in Seattle or wherever. I don't advocate property destruction as a progressive action, it's often tired and turns off workers...(you FBI guy reading this...go get a sandwich! I am playing non-violent in print you little shiney-shoe bugger!) but I won't damn any kid that throws a brick at corporate structures. Nor would I call the police as some liberals did in Seattle, while two blocks away cops were beating really fucking heavy on PEOPLE. Vandalism is nowhere near the violence that Americans experience daily, through poverty and incarceration, not to mention the violence instigated by these corporations co-mingled with the security forces of the USA against democratic movements the world over. When my taxes stop paying for carpet bombing of other workers, and 'my' government stops supporting with billions of dollars in subsidies and 'free trade' agreements, and corporate fascism the world over and the institutional psychological battering of citizens in prisons, I will worry about a few fucking broken windows.

Thanks so much Jack, for the letter. I hope I am not coming across too all high and mighty. I read the essential anarchist poop in the 80's and didn't remember all the 'socialism' references, the lack of straight up dogma, and after re-reading stuff the past few years, I have found a wealth of history I missed and a fascinating breadth of rational 'trust' in our ability to take each day as it comes. I have found a renewed appreciation of anarchism. And a better understanding of the human side of 'history'. Like I said, I am in an unfair position here, having an entire library in my own room.....and don't want to sound like I am smarter than you. You and the others there, know more about the 'human condition' than maybe I ever will.

I wish I could offer you something more than just continued correspondence—I'm not in the much of 'false hope' these days—but letters are all the present allows.

Hold Steady, It Ain't Over Yet, Tommy

JACK'S SECOND LETTER....

Dear Tommy,

First off, sorry about breakfast Brother. Your Sunday and day's plans as well, it wasn't my intention to ruin 'em with my rantings and ravings.

Secondly, always remember, I put myself in this position and since I gave no pity, compassion or sympathy I really don't deserve any. The person I killed (for stealing less than a gram of weed from me) got no second chance and that person's "sentence" that I pronounced was final and irrevocable.

Last (but definitely not least), your offer of "something more than just continued correspondence....", shit, if you only realized that your "continued correspondence is manna from heaven. I've got good friends who make sure I'm supplied with books, stamps, a few bucks for tobacco and coffee...but no one to discuss, argue, agitate (and be agitated by) and have any type of "conversation", as you just gave me. I've got thousands of conversations; and if you can handle that (as I can accept yours) then you'll be giving me a better gift than anything else (except freedom).

Well, lets see...where to start to answer....Your friend at the Anderson Valley Advertiser, Alex Cockburn, gives great advice, I should of re-read my response and not gone off (pardon the pun) "half cocked". Mea culpa. I'm going to attempt to not do so in this letter, promise.....Again mea culpa, I did exactly what I accused some of the "left" of doing, being divisive and I'll try and clarify some of what I wrote as I did not, apparently, communicate my thought(s) well.

I agree that Noam Chomsky said he's an 'anarchist' (I've never seen it in print but I trust your word) and may even believe he's one but his actions (of late, specifically believe his statements. Yes, People (all people) do contradictory things (myself included) and sometimes compromise (to a small extent) their principals and/or ethics to obtain a goal or aid another in obtaining their's. But Mr. Chomsky has compromised just a little too much, especially when he advocates 'compulsory voting' (voting by "force and threat of incarceration") in agreement with Mr. Nader's statements. And his, lately avowed 'favor' towards OSHA (yes, they do help some workers in some industries but they sure do fuck over small businesses and 'independents'), a large, top-heavy bureaucratic bully who years ago was using democratic methods to enforce and promulgate its regulations. Don't get me wrong, I like Noam, I've read a lot of his books and will continue to do so in the future, but he's compromised himself right into socialism and out of anarchism. Again, my opinion (as who the fuck am I to say who is or isn't an "anarchist") but he shouldn't be touted as speaking for or by or of anarchy any longer.

You also correct (If you only knew how I hate admitting being wrong) about my statement concerning Mr. Opalsky. "My Opalsky, I apologize, and we (us anarchists want you to stay (at least nearby) close and not to drift towards, the 'dark side' and I don't want to push you away. Again My apologies."

Tommy, I agree and disagree with what you say about the 'left' and what does and doesn't mean (or what should and shouldn't constitute anarchism) or its multiplicity of views. I've no right to say what is and isn't kosher as far as the label anarchist/anarchism applies nor has anyone else. My, big, problem is I simply do not trust at all, anything to do with Marxists or their ilk, period. Why? Let's say you're working with them to help, say, the homeless, okay? Now, at first, they work hand in glove with you or visa-versa to better the lives of the homeless by decent, common sense, non-regulatory ideas and methods, but before long there's rules, regulations, committees

with (semi-legal authority) and some type of enforcement by fine or even jail/prison time and suddenly you've got people locked-up doing time and some sort of 'peoples' council' arbitrarily reeling out reams of regulations, rules and laws. I've seen it before, so have you. Happen every time? No. Happen enough? Yes. You know the old adage, "fool me once, shame on you...fool me twice shame on me". And if you believe in dismantling 'the system' you can't fight or 'demand' to have a cop 'tried for murder' by using that self-same system, or use cops for anything period. If I see someone in need of aid, I help, I don't call the cops, if I need aid, well shit, if I was on fire I wouldn't ask for one glass of water. There's no such thing as benign law enforcement, ever.

Are there some of the "left" (even yuck, Marxists) worth helping/assisting, sure even if they're using 'the system' against itself. And yes, we (us who call ourselves anarchists or even those who don't but act/think as we do) should keep bridges between us and the 'left', but man, we gotta guard those bridges like hell, and you know that! And Marx and his partner Engels did have a lot to say that's timely and of utility for anarchists and originally he was on, nearly, the same 'path' even if he did seem to swallow all of Hegel's historical dialectic bait and hook but he and later his true believers wavered way off and became a 'friendly enemy' and then, another tyrant to oppose, and to be very wary of in the future (then) and the future today. Yes, it's really stupid of me—I've never claimed to be smart, merely cunning—to divide or even attempt to divide anarchists into 'true and false', 'right or wrong' or even equally as dumb to label all Marxists, Leninists, Maoist, et al, as "the enemy". For that I truly do apologize—gee Tom. I ain't even going to get used to saying it.

Alright, Proudhon...Bad choice of words on my part. Emma called him "one of the fathers...." Okay, but he still wasn't an anarchists and he never claimed to be, so.....I'll, compromise and say we were both correct in this.

I don't know if I misconstrued what you wrote or miscommunicated my thought(s) in my first letter but I've always thought of Emma, Bakunin, Malatesta (and you left out, 'The Prince'Kropotkin) and Rocker, Black and Bookchin as anarchists and, to me, heroes all (even if Kropotkin did compromise a little in his approval of our entering into WWI) and Black goes overboard against Bookchin and Bookchin's attitude towards 'individualist anarchists.' You didn't need to quote (but I'm glad you did as I have the quotes and the knowledge now...thank-you) them but I do understand why you did. And yes, you are correct (sigh....)they truly, knew more than me and I stand corrected.

About 99% of why I am so anti-authoritarian is, as you surmised, because I'm in here. Why I don't trust anyone with any rules or regulations or laws or votes (I'll clarify that...I mean national and state-wide voting, not local or union or group) is what I've seen over the years as its end result(s). Also, about 1974, while awaiting sentencing on another violent act, in the Los Angeles County Jail, I met a man by the name of Lennie (leonard) Barns who had been a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He had fought alongside the anarchists and had, for a time, lived in Barcelona while the anarchist/syndicalists had made it an open/free city. He kept me mesmerized with the stories he told (too many, too detailed, too 'real' to be made up) of real freedom and comradeship. And also of the CP's betrayal and the mini-Stalinist "Paradise" they installed. I've got a good memory and I know (through him) what life can be under anarchy. I see very little getting done by voting and playing by the system's rules or advocating anyone doing so. But, I guess, a little is better than none huh? I need to lighten up but Brother it ain't easy to extend a friendly, open hand to people who have so often bitten it, nor trust any rule regulation or law.

Uh, I'll take it for granted that Sierra Nevada is beer from one of the new 'micro-breweries' I've read about, and admire their co-opting the big tasteless corporation's shit and thank-you. Also, the "gun" joke was good. I chuckled out loud. Remember, we inside have a

good sense of humor (mostly) but it's 'gallows humor' and the joke was apt, and funny.

As for tears....no. I've seen more compassion in here than I ever say out there, but it's very low key and understated. Anger takes the place of tears, it can't be used against you so readily, remember, kindness is taken for weakness by both guard and con (some not all) so....people 'rage' instead of cry but it's the same feeling when all is said and done...pain, frustration, sadness, and powerlessness. Enough of this shit.

No, I don't subscribe to that "Democracy equals...." shit either, but then again what passes for 'anarchist' thought (in some circles) dumbfounds me. Do you mean to say those "Zerzanites" claim Emma, Kropotkin, Rocker, Malatesta, Bakunin, et al "ain't anarchists"? What do you expect from a bunch of misanthropes who are deluded enough to think (or want) that 5 3/4 billion humans should or will die so a bunch of idiots can play, "Tarzan and Jane" in the woods? Fuck 'em and feed 'em fish-water. For one thing can you or anyone with any degree of sense imagine the ecological disaster that 5 3/4 billion rotting human corpses would cause? Not to mention all those chemicals and toxins contained, by daily watchfulness, in so many cities and factories worldwide that would gush into everything? No? Me neither. The fact that they can even think that to be desirable is, well.....insane. What they, the neo-primitives, have to say about anything is irrelevant, they're nihilists with a veil of pseudo-anarchism clothing their rhetoric. I know, one of the John's 'true believers' (nice guy, deluded as hell) taught here at a creative writing class and I engaged him in conversation...yikes scared even me.

As for Eugene Debs....I don't remember his whole phrase but, in part, it's "...if there is a criminal class, I am of it, if there is prison, I am in it"..... He's always, socialist or not, been a hero to me.

I think "Imagine" is published in Nevada and no, never read it. I have read Fred Woodworth's "The Match!" and maybe that's whom you mean? Fred's, well 'cranky' to put it nicely, but he doesn't mince words and you have to admit (well, you don't have to, as an anarchist I won't try to force you) he is very seldom wrong. And yes, he is opinionated but he makes you think doesn't he? No, I don't get all my ideas or opinions from any of the 90's 'zines' as I've not read any except yours and Fred's who's been printing since 1969, not many make it in here. Don't have a clue who Zinn is. And as for Chomsky, as I said, he can call himself Chinese, it won't make him one, not with the way he's been acting lately anyway, but Tommy, my opinion and not "gospel according to Jack".

I do understand what Chris (and even Benita) was trying to say, but...shit, if you tag people as 'colored' and the rest 'white' does that sound cool or does it sound like Jim Crow Mississippi? They're dividing people into two camps even if some of the other camp are camping next to their camp, "colored" and 'white' and they're not differentiating, you are, she or Chris never said "overwhelmingly whitebread"....it was "overwhelmingly white", period. I do know you said it was what was meant but it wasn't said. Tommy there was a time, not too long ago where you saw signs that said, "No Niggers, Chinks or Irish Need Apply" and while us Celts may of managed to (as they said years ago about blacks mistake for whites) 'pass' not all of us made it to paradise. Appalachia is replete with dirt poor, powerless, Irish, Welsh and Scottish (decent and admixtures of same) white folks and unless things have changed, there's more of them than all the 'colored' poor and they live in some urban areas. Do they not count? Is their poverty and powerlessness not noteworthy or worth any effort? Or is the fact that they're white a 'strike' against them? I detest racism in any form and give no 'freebies' to anyone who needs of cries for an excuse to use it in any way shape or form. Yes, Chris is correct. Too many 'whitebread' professional radicals and liberals abound but he (and his mentor Benita) need to remove the splinter from their eyes before they comment on the 2 x 4 in another's.

As for talking to that skinhead....shit Tommy, ever hit yourself over the head repeatedly with a hammer? No? Me neither and I'm not

about to try. I said before about people "who don't learn from history, repeating it...." The very first thing the National Socialists did upon taking power was to do in the 'Brown Shirt' thugs that got them there. What do they truly think will happen to them? And how do you argue with someone who advocates ovens and camps and.....for men, women and children? Why bother? Me? I'm just gonna wave and say "hi and bye" and that's it, period. I am not playing Don Quixote and tilt at any skinheaded windmills.

And Tommy, amigo, fuck all those idiots who attempt to censure you for "being a babble of ideas and opinions" because usually they have so little themselves....again fuck 'em and feed 'em fish water.

Oh, I neglected to mention in my first letter about your touting for The Wobblies.....Tommy, Tommy, Tommy didn't you read some history? They weren't the greatest friends towards anarchists....maybe you need to re-read a little of Red Emma's autobiography (which strangely enough and along with Bakunin's "God and State" are in our library here, go figure...) and look up, "TWW". {Jack put a funny smiley face here} I just re-read "Living my Life" so it's really fresh in my memory....wanna still 'spar'?

Oh, something else Brother, you mention in your letter a lot of "worker" (this or that)—does everyone need to be or only count if they're a "worker"? As in homeless "workers" and.....Nancy Kress wrote a good science-fiction book (actually a trilogy but the second and third were, well, duds) entitled, "Beggars In Spain" while the gist of the story dealt with others things the titles came from a conversation between two of the protagonists concerning, well, a mythical group of Spanish beggars and about the pros and cons of helping 'non-productive' people. The one said (paraphrased, as I don't have eidetic memory), "Yes, you help even them because, who knows, maybe they'll one day make, or design something that changes mankind or maybe their child will...no one's worthless..." Is a poem a 'work' and a poet a "worker"? Does a smile, unasked for or unexpected and totally without monetary value be "work"?

Tommy, everyone deserves freedom and a roof, even drunks and junkies, like me, everyone. And everyone goes free, every prisoner, not just Mumia and 'political' prisoners, all of us. Maybe you don't notice your saying it or and I'll give you this maybe I'm too sensitive, too much the Celt, with our inborn sense of being and rooting for the 'underdog'. Remember, "we're the ungovernable children of an ungovernable race and in our chests beats fanatical hearts", everyone counts Tommy.

What's life like in here? 99% sheer boredom and 1% utter terror, with alternating times between 'em. We, essentially, live in a bathroom with bunks and a steel door. It's noisy most of the time. Dirty, no privacy, violent (both us and the guards) and so mind-numbingly dull. It ain't anything like on television or the movies. The same way Hollywood cannot depict combat in any real way, they cannot depict prison. It's "all of that" and none of that" as well. My day? I get up at 7 AM when the guards bring us chow (it's usually cold and about as appetizing as you'd expect), I eat, make a lukewarm cup of coffee (they took our 'stingers'=immersion heaters, years ago) and put a chew (plug of Copenhagen, yup, nasty habit but who the fuck's kissing me anyhow?) in my mouth and wash/brush up, make my bunk and....read or write a letter or two. Then a little exercise and/or yoga (I've got arthritis, osteo, not rheumatic) and lunch. Maybe a shower if it's 'our' day, white/black alternating days and then dinner...another lukewarm meal, lunch is a bag...then mail call and....read until tired, followed by the next day. Sound like Academy Award material? No? Looks better on HBO, I guess. You take it one day at a time, don't dwell on the past...no regrets or it'll kill you...or fantasize too much on the future...don't hope for the best and not expect the worst...make a good friend (or two if).

Jack's second letter...

you're lucky) you can count on...don't gamble (or if you do, pay your debts!) and don't disrespect anyone and if disrespected...don't snitch or snivel (too much snivel that is, never snitch) and stand on our own two feet. That's it. Still a lousy "made for t.v. movie"...it's a little like living as a time traveler, when I fell there were no pc's no walkmans a peanut-farmer was President, Vietnam (Saigon) had fallen less than 4 years before, the Berlin Wall (and the Soviet Union) was still extant, phones were mostly still rotary, HBO was a big, ugly box upon a few people's televisions, 4 and 8 track tapes were as prevalent as cassettes and it was toss up between Beta or VHS.....I see some of these things in use but a lot's so alien I may as well be on another world, and I cannot imagine just how different the outside world truly is. Oh well.....

I'm still not going to agree with the Black Bloc's tactics and creed, intimidation and threat (except in self-defense) is coercion and has never been what anarchy has been about and no one, not Emma or Malatesta or.....would agree. Emma didn't even like to give advice to her own sister let alone 'force' anyone to do anything. "The End Justifies the Means" is not an anarchist's motto and I'll give you three guesses whose it is...(and, a hintit starts with a "B" and ends with a "K" and Lenin led 'em)....Starbucks and The Gap ain't even vaguely important as enemies or even as targets, you've got over a million motherfuckers locked up in cages and their worried about sweatshops and 'corporate capers' and 'globalization'. Some priority. It's the old 'starving kids in China' syndrome, where people would pass hungry children in their own country to ship food to a far corner of the globe. Yes the Corporatization of the world is a good fight but how about us? Why? Ain't a hip mission or what?> As we all ain't Mumia (who should go free) we are as invisible to them (the Black Bloc) as we are to mainstream society. Yeah, Starbucks, what a monster...shit, I'll bet if they were in here the priorities would fucking change.

Why the fuck would I want to 'draw and quarter' Tommy? I may not agree 100% with what you have to say or your opinions but why would I dare consider stifling your voice? That's 'leftist' bullshit. I've enjoyed very much, having a few of my mistakes and misconstruings pointed out and the give and take between us and your journal. I don't want anyone's voice to be stifled, even my enemies', that's the new 'political correctness' nazi-style mindthink, not any anarchist's who ain't simply posing or has a clue. When I'm wrong, tell me, when I'm right, agree or help me clarify my, sometimes, very muddled point. No problem amigo, comprehend?

I like your idea(s) about the 'union/café/libraryhall and if I was out you'd have volunteer help (it would do me good to work alongside some of our 'fellow' travelers' and shake my contentions up a little more....)

I'd like to add a lump or two to the idiot who coined that phrase 'lumpenproletariat' myself and especially to anyone, still extant, who continues to do so.

I beginning to realize I'm a little too much the "individualist" anarchist and that I need to reach out a hand towards people are aiming their sights towards the same goals, even if I do not agree, always, with their methods. You did make me think, I probably will never fully trust 'em but hey, that's me and my problem, not the world's.

Oh, a good reason why I'm not so hot towards unions is that during the late 60's and early 70's they tried to form a "Prisoners' Union" but not one single union would formally (or even informally) recognize it. People got hurt and I believe a couple were even killed, by the cons working for the 'man' and by 'fellow' union members....but it's been awhile so don't quote that as gospel and it never got recognized or developed into anything more than a paper and a little aid. Thanks, 'fellow travelers'.....

Greatly appreciate the offer of books and tapes but no, we (here in Pelican Bay anyway) can't receive used books anymore and they've never let us receive tapes except via a vendor. God, I'd love to hear Patti sing "Jesus died for your sins not mine..." or Lou Reed's "Sweet Jane" just once! I really miss their voices and all we hear is top 40 and "country" on our radios (I don't own a TV and don't want one) and our vendor

rarely has anything worth a fuck. The offer is greatly appreciated but a little, free, unwarranted advice ...convicts (some) will play you for all you're worth so go easy on your offers...."Manipulation 101" is a free course inside and even I have been guilty of that sin a time or two...

As for the 'human condition'....I've learned one thing over years and that is each of us gives his or her own meaning to their individual life, no outside influence or institution truly can and humans are as varied, contradictory and changeable as hell but....I do truly love 'em and want us all to be as free as we each can possibly be without fucking over the next person in any-way, shape or form, period.

Well Tommy, I greatly appreciated the letter and again, sorry about breakfast and the rest of the day. Thanks for giving me a little more information than I had and for setting me to thinking, as after all, contentions are opinions set in concrete and that's always a dangerous move. I'm going to send your letter to a friend so he can see what you said and, thanks for enclosing a copy of mine as well. I do artwork (pen, in, pencil) if you ever require or need some.....hey, I ain't going anywhere.

With Respect And in Solidarity,

Jack Morris.

Postscript If you can or remember save a sparkler or firecracker for July 14, and drink a Sierra Nevada for me and the rest of us inside. Bastille Day....love a holiday commemorating the storming of a prison



Hey Jack,

Great to hear from you again so soon...sorry so long in responding....I chopped and rewrote this letter....and working on second album with my band.....here I go 'off too/two!.....

I promise to myself and to the readers, that I will not fill an anarchist-syndicalist journal with my own diatribes against the North American and UK variant of extremist individualists. I must fill it with information, news and real pavement/workplace debate. Iraq, Columbia, 2 Million citizens in US jails, and rampant poverty right in front of my face warrant more space than someone that claims technology in a sweeping moralistic tone is evil and that unions mean the AFL-CIO. If anyone wants to write a letter and tell me I am not an anarchist cuz I vote for referendums, city offices, cuz I demand democracy in every facet of life, cuz I want to form a militant anarchist union, or that my idea of anarchism or syndicalism is so 'marxist' I must be a little lenin, then they can do so. They will get a reply. I don't have the time to debate zines or a milieu (in their terms) that very few of THIS magazine's readers will ever see or want to come in contact with. So this is my one 'attack' on the crap.

I felt, rather than generalize upon my personal experiences over 15 years, or random readings of anarchist zines, that I should offer some point of reference to my aside of '90's neo-anarchists". And maybe back up by inference that 'they' throw 100 years of anarchist heroes in the dustbin. I went to AK press to see Cockburn speak, and picked up the new Anarchy; among other print. It is one of the most professional and long lasting 'anarchist' magazines in the US. It has certainly over its 50 issues had a wealth of intelligent and very well researched writers contributing. I read it cover to cover..... and was disgusted.

The editor, Jason, on the first page encouraged me with his 'Degradation of Anarchist Discourse' editorial. There are five points.#3 is "Argue for ideas and practical actions, not for ideologies and morals...#4 Criticize people for where they stand, not for positions you invent for them. Especially avoid irrelevant name-calling. ...and then #5 ignore demagogues and anti-anarchist provocateurs whenever possible, and when it's not, criticize or ridicule them unmercifully.

So a bit encouraged there I go.....The primitivism "pro and con" articles didn't tell me much, but reinforced my view that they can't answer questions without wacky generalizations or some type of new-age dodge. I fucking hate that ploy. It's what the right media does all the time. You get asked a question and bring up some very questionable anecdote or 'personal' experience. [see my fascination/diatribes against Larry Livermore].

Any 'anarchist' should be able to answer questions with clarity and concision when they come from a sympathetic interviewer.

In the Zerzan piece, the interviewer, Lawrence Jarach, in the intro, says "...As far as I can tell, most primitivists only want to go back as far as the Iron Age. As for the supposed mass die-off, this devastation wouldn't touch the majority of people in the non-and semi-industrial areas of Asia, Africa, and South America, who are already experiencing mass starvation and death."

Well, that is news to me. The majority of the people outside of Europe, US and Mexico, and Central America are experiencing mass death? Certainly, there are isolated famines occurring daily on parts of the earth always due to control of food distribution and farmland that is owned increasingly by the rich/military gov'ts, usually tied in with G8 nations or corporations ...but this statement is so wrong it defies explanation. I just checked today, to make sure that the majority of people outside the US didn't die. Yep, they're still there. If they are suffering mass starvation, they would have been dead by the time this issue of Anarchy came off the press. Weird science.....and a typical 'it's already over' type comment from primitivists and neo-anarchists. They're still alive? Well they will die soon anyway! And to deny that every economy in the world is not tied in completely with the G8 countries is so vastly ignorant, it defies argument. 60% of the consumer goods the US eats up, come from the third world. So what would happen with a deep depression here? And the "non- " and "semi-industrial" areas of..."...shit....every part of this world has large pockets of very industrialized areas. There is not one part of a relatively 'wild area' that is not impacted by near-area industry in this world, and there is not one nation-state that is not tied into global industrialization, producing, exporting and importing. Christ, I know these guys know all about trees, and he won't even acknowledge that industrial clear cutting is going on everywhere!

Anyway, it's a John Zerzan interview, so most of it gives no information whatsoever. I get more facts from a Zinn column in the crappy 'Progressive'.

Zerzan says: "I recall someone with Fifth Estate asserting, about 20 years ago, that there simply is no "labor-saving-device". Basically meaning that when any machine or device is deconstructed, it can be seen to contain more congealed or required labor than is actually "saved" by it use. This would include all kinds of hidden inputs, such as storage, transportation.....

marketing, etc. I've never head this assertion refuted."

This statement goes beyond primitive. "Hidden inputs"? Not hidden at all by managers and the estate owners. They know very well all costs. As if you can add up extraction, transportation costs, labor costs of mass production of a million tractors and plows and then apply that to a single tractor and plow and then deem the tractor owner who uses that same one tractor and plow to do the work of twenty for the next forty years... YES.....then he should revert to a hand held hoe! These mother fuckers are from Mars. If Zerzan was right, that no labor saving device really saves 'labor/work' there would be no profit in the capitalistic system. The reason no one took the time to refute this article of 20 years ago, is that anyone that read it, if anyone did, laughed out loud at the thumb-up-ass-math. Most 'labor saving' devices are made for a profit (money made over labor costs) or a market for it, as long as labor costs don't negate the profit of it's manufacture before marketing. There are also many 'labor saving devices' that were made by individuals, and THEN mass marketed, but still represent the inherent human ingenuity and creative urge to save time doing tedious work. Goddamn, don't use a fucking washing machine! Because the iron ore extraction, and industrial steel process and etc.(!) outweighs the benefits of a 5 hour scrubbing in a bin! Don't add 5 hours extra every two weeks for your next 40 years of life as time saved in this labor-saved Zerzan math... ..don't think about that! Destroy the cotton gin! Don't make steel to build a ship to transport food, don't make computers to help people design more efficient solar cells! The pre-labor and environmental costs outweigh the benefits! Destroy it all! And certainly don't make microscopes, centrifugal machines and other aspects of bio-medical research because disease, according to an implication by Zerzan in this interview, is a modern thing. And while we're at it, mix ALL scientists and researchers together. Someone doing cancer or AIDs research is as lowly as those designing a new pentagon massacre gas!

The interviewer does another 200+ word question as devil's advocate concerning questions of "technology" involving medical science....including the modern improvement of clean water...diabetes.....and then Zerzan side-steps the question as he has to:

JZ: "I suppose most everyone is hopeful about such things as "advances in medicine"....Stress, Toxins, Isolation, the sheer magnitude of alienation bring such a multiplicity of dis-ease. Epidemic cancer, tens of millions on anti-depressantsnew "mystery" illnesses all the time....We have always been held captive by civilization, in various ways. At some point the captivity may not seem worth it to most people...."

A gross ignorance and crippled look at medical science. Antibiotics alone increased our life expectancy 20 years since the 1930's. Hundreds of thousands of children died each year in the US, prior to the vaccinations against polio, small pox, whooping cough, etc. This guy is a fucking idiot. Bring on the influenza epidemic of the early 1900's! Bring on the black plague that killed 1/4 of Europe's relatively well-dispersed population! Most people are not 'hopeful'—they know fact about advances in 'modern science' and demand that modern medicine be applied equally to all citizens. Not because they are brainwashed by the drug companies, but because they want to live longer, they want most of their children to live, and they don't want their neighbors dying of curable illness and disease. Of course he makes no mention of the historical fact, that our lives are almost twice as long compared to 1830's industrial US and UK. And how he could mix up our desire to NOT DIE with the state instituted, and profit motive for doctors to push the prescription of downers on the rabble, middle class whacked and sad, and in

stituted, opens a window clearly on his mixed up analysis of class, and prisons, and capital being involved in medicine and science. People should show up when he talks at 'anarchist' gatherings and ask if he thinks medicine is so irrelevant, then it was a good thing that 9 out of 10 million native Americans died from Euro transported diseases, and if we should allow that to happen again. Not hard to make the jump here, that AIDs should not be treated in Africa according to the anti-technology dictate. And that TB should be allowed to run rampant again in western democratic countries as it did not so long ago, and is now resurfacing. The list is really too long. As so obvious, I think people don't want to bother with this argument. And wonder why I am. Antibiotics alone have saved me from dying from pneumonia, and have saved the lives of many people around me. This fact, the amazing medical advance, should not be confused with the corporate farming that creates resistant pathogens, and poisons meat eaters. This old bearded guy shaman is ironically living in the 90's so much, he can legitimize mass death from disease on a whim of mystical theory ... that our alienation can bring about infectious diseases!!!! That stress from civilization brings on pathogens!

All pre-industrial areas, in all recorded records we have found, detail 'plagues'. Certainly, there must be a link to increased environmental pollution to human sickness and cancers. But still with these obviously noxious toxins, and the added stress of modern alienation, the majority of at the bottom workers, live twice as long as anyone pre 1800.

And then, he ends with this, completely out of context, "anarchism, insofar as it wants to remain part of the left, does not appear to want such questioning."

Because most anarchists, contrary to his and Anarchy's views, are educated and rational thinking compassionate people that don't bother with this tripe. Wacky non-scientific, irrational generalizations are not 'questions' to intelligent caring people; do we debate medieval medicine and whether we should go back to the 'balance of fluids' process?

AH, draw my blood OUT, I am coughing green phelgm today!

Of course, we all have a very valid question-all-authority when it comes to any of society's experts, scientists or intellectuals. But to confuse a corporate hack for Monsanto pushing round-up-ready soybeans or a GM corn from Iowa, with the technology and the 'science' of small farmers that have developed 150 varieties of corn over thousands years in Mexico; we have then married the cluster bomb with the manufacture of cheese. Though to be honest, Zerzan does not like agriculture in any form I would propose to feed people. That's a whole different argument about this hunter-gatherer return or variant on the past.

Bozo the Zerzan, is a fucking joke. Hence his profiles in Time magazine. (after Seattle and again now in 7/01).

So then onto the 'book reviews' of "Anarchy" and keep in mind the editor's statements as in "#4 Criticize people for where they stand, not for positions you invent for them. Especially avoid irrelevant name-calling."

Bookchin's Anarchism, Marxism and the Future of the Left: A book I read, and found too cranky even for Murray B., but practical and interesting and applied to my evolution of anarchist thought in many ways. But Jason, the editor of Anarchy does a four column diatribe on this book that makes me feel like I read a different book!

"The targets? Basically, anyone uninterested in perpetuating a leftism that has little to do with anarchy and much to do with Bookchin's attempt to establish social ecology and libertarian municipalism as hegemonic anarchist theories and practices with which to supplant those of anarchist-communism

and anarcho-syndicalism in years past. Unfortunately, though, for Bookchin, he's too late on the scene with way too little of value to offer us."

Ok, so I can take this as a reasonable review of a book the reviewer hated. Though it's laughable to me to suddenly decide for all of us, that anarchism has nothing to do with Bookchin's 'leftism'.

But then, "Amongst the great bulk of the anarchist milieu, most activists simply don't notice Bookchin. Or they just don't care what he says, since his work has little relevance to most anarchist activities."

Funny, if no one cares what he says, that there are at least 5 books/ pamphlets against Bookchin, including two by Bob Black. And funny more, that the most respected 'anarchist' press in the US, AK Press, has published over 8 of his books. Also strange, that an editor of such an open forum as Anarchy magazine, would tell us, from Columbia MO, what 'we' all think.

And therein, lies my implication of trash-the-history of our heroes and thinkers by implying that Bookchin 'is too late on the scene.' Well fuck the scene. I am trying to educate myself, open my mind to new ideas, but can only follow what is considered 'on the scene' to this editor? Well, so be it. My band is retro, my syndicalism is retro, but I wear boots for the new decade. "We" have always said we build the road as we travel, but it never included pulling up the path we forged behind us. Anyway, I have found all Bookchin books interesting, sometimes exasperating since he assumes too much knowledge of the past on the reader, but also every engaging. All his writing of libertarian municipalism is fascinating to me. But I will burn those books tomorrow, since de facto, I am wrong for being excited by an old guy's 'leftist' theory.

More: "However, for most us, Bookchin comes off as a pathetic would-be schoolyard bully of the anarchist milieu.he found himself mostly ignored. So he raised his voice louder and louder, ... only to cry foul when anarchist theorists and activists naturally started to fight back." [sounds like a description of Bob Black in the 90's really- Bookchins two volume Third Revolution has nothing to do with these 'anarchists' and it's good shit-his The Spanish Anarchists is amazing- both of these works are from the 90's]. And Jason says before he lists four anti-Bookchin tracts(!) ... "more often he is driven to make personal smears.....For these reasons the Bookchin school of anarcho-Stalinist denunciation shouldn't be humored or tolerated within the anarchist milieu."

No one listens to him, but I still am part of a 'Bookchin school', that shouldn't be humored.

What arrogance. What trivial name calling. And a very dishonest review of a book of interviews.....

Ok, Jack, I know this is tiring, but like I said, only for this issue and I figure you might actually get something out of my diatribe. To throw the word 'Stalinist' onto anyone requires some heavy justification on the part of the writer. Stalin was a mass murderer. And a totalitarian as complete as Hitler. To name-call 'someone, a writer not involved in any power structures, who doesn't write without mentioning the destruction of hierarchies (Bookchin) is such an irrational leap to me.

And am I cross-eyed or stupid or what, but I can't see the difference from what the editor of Anarchy accuses Bookchin of ... and then what the editor does in the same paragraph, that is, "For these reasons... shouldn't be tolerated within the anarchist milieu."

I will reprint some Bookchin this issue from the 90's, and let our readers decide if he 'shouldn't be tolerated.'

Refer to Anarchy's editor point #4 above. Anarcho-Stalinist is a very (sadly) funny term really. Sounds like something out of a Thomas Friedman (NY Times) or Larry Livermore column. Kinda like 'eco-fascist' or 'femi-nazi', or 'fascist-anarchist'and contributes usually with intent, to confuse any rational discussion of 'politics' left vs. right.

Following this Jason-the-editor's review is a Bob Black review of another book titled 'Social Ecology After Bookchin.' I'll only quote one part, "It's amazing that someone who, as does Bookchin, exhibits hatred for nature not under human control."

This is so dishonest. As are all Bob Black's attacks. Unfortunately, a lot of young kids are sucking up his pamphlets without even reading Bookchin..... So I am out of this 'milieu' and not trying to create some 'hegemony'!

There is some news in Anarchy, but less than I get from Labor Notes, or even Maximum RocknRoll (a punk monthly). And then the reviews. I got very sad really. And the editor, and their regular writers, including Zerzan, probably appreciate this.

On the subscription page, the magazine's blurb states: "Neither left nor right, we're just uncompromisingly anti-authoritarian. Anarchy refuses *all* ideology." Ideology has at least six definitions in the dictionary, and a multitude of connotations for people when attached to an adjective, so I won't pigeonhole that word. But it does strike me as a refusal of ALL learned and experienced perception and education—street level or within organizational activist sort. "No ideology" sounds very mystical to me. Kinda like, 'well tomorrow, I may change my mind, and then maybe I won't.' Not people to rely on if we're talking about changing societies, economics, and institutional structures. But here I may be getting 'too marxist' or 'leftist'. Of course, we change daily but most of us, retain a certain doctrine that we base our lives and perceptions on.

I hate to think I have to be a 'pure clean slate', as in a 2 year old with the beauty of a child's naive gaped mouth, to be an anarchist. Perhaps since I think that experience, history, and knowledge are so important, then I am not allowed in the new anarchist 'milieu'. UGH

Jack you are different, you waver as you admit, and come in from all sides. And you challenge me. Vast sweeping generalizations that we all make, do not challenge a rational thinking worker and sometimes elicit knee-jerk responses, unless they are accompanied by fair play and tolerance, with windows, for discussion.

I think I was certainly out of line by trying to speak for Chris Crass. I will forward all our conversations to him and let him respond.

Let me attempt to bring the word coercion back into a public arena out of the hands of neo-anarchists, and then bury it. It has been typically used by the liberals as well as recent anarchists to connote ANY use of mass/collective force to change society or adjust some part of our economic life. We have equally let the right infect our rational thought. Governments through police, military and repression of real democracy use coercion. A minority ruling the majority against their true wishes. The masses' demands, the strike in a workplace, the march on city hall, have now been thrown into this same ideological marsh where we all are crocodiles; power hungry beasts. I want us all to shed the armor, the marsh, and get up on a dry hill where we can see from all four sides.

In the sense that all 'force' is coercion, and not anarchist, then a mass action that shuts down a government, in a demand for more justice, or to stop bombing civilian populations, is then non-anarchist....that is ...force or the threat of force to gain compliance, by the dictionary definition...is duly akin by this rote definition...as to the ruling classes bombing an entire country into oblivion, or rounding up tens of thousands of 'reds' and throwing them into prison. Or turning machine guns onto civilians marching on the streets in the city they built. This is what I mean when I say we can sit like gobbly glue. Spinning in circles. "Anarchists" working on web-sites rather than organizing against state coercion. Because to march against the gates, and tear them down, well that would be 'coercion' and non-anarchist.

Amoeba like booby heads with glue on their ass. You can't act, if your action resembles 'force', or causes reactionary violence. I would take this out of the context of the relatively free western democracies into say the village of El Mozote (E.S.) or into the villages of Columbia in this year where people (the few survivors) see their entire community hacked, gutted and tortured, and ask anyone on the left demanding ghandian pacifist reactions if they can expect people NOT to take arms in self-defense which then becomes an pro-active armed violence; that is, if in a specific context they could preach to me, I cannot support them since it is non-anarchist. In one way I am glad my generation and those that follow don't remember the era of propaganda-by-the-deed anarchism, but I didn't expect 'us' to go so far near pacifism, that at this point, we are incapable not just by lack of organization and popular support, but by the dictates of 'new anarchism'..... of storming the Bastille.

We do need force, and if that is 'coercion', so be it. We need to compel, exact, oblige, twist and SQUEEZE, the military friekorps and corporate ruling class—to demand they give us something back, and to slow their iron heel. We need to exercise force to make even our pitiful demands met. This is not reforming the system. These are acts of survival. We only need to think of Franco, That Austrian Painter, Guatemala's US Instituted Boot, and Suharto as examples of what happens when the left turns inside and doesn't batter and beat forcefully at the outside while dictators and corporate democratic whores go about eradicating the last remnants of past victories

The workers, the people, tell me by their initiative and democratic process when I am to engage in force, mass demand for justice; this coercion against the institutions.

This has nothing to do with picking up guns and engaging in target murders. This idea of mine, based in 100 years of history I claim, has everything to do with humanist peaceful demands for progressive change. If a country's military shoots at a citizens' revolt, then self-defense may be necessary. Otherwise, almost all mass actions in capitalist democracies, and most in initially in all third world countries, have been non-violent initially. This is the history I speak of and respect and see as the only determining force, and shove that has slowed the boot.

But if I twist a scumbags arm, whether through the courts, or through mass action, or through a simple work-place strike, it is coercion. And it is victory within that moment. We must fight for survival of all freedom loving people at any cost, other than individualist violent terrorism. If you weren't up on such an obvious guilt, I would work to find a lawyer, and 'engage in the system' to get you free. I see nothing non-anarchist about this. And that is why I cited all the old farts....in the first letter.

And no, I don't claim that all 'neo-primitives' say all the old tomes are non-anarchist, I just meant by action some throw them into the dustbin of history, since everyone, from Kropotkin....on through Rocker etc.... supported any type of 'reformist' actions that people could gain. By reformist I am using the present context here. In their day 'reformist' was only used for people that thought the ballot box could change capitalism and militarism. Though we all know well, as any rational leftist would know, that all gains are temporary and not at all 'reforming' the system. I am damned as non-anarchist, again I ask, if I wanted to help pass a referendum to get non-violent offenders out of prison? If ten thousand workers and I shut down city hall to demand dweller-controlled housing—which would entail demanding federal money (our taxes) and some enactment of a local law or code—we are no longer anarchists, but reformists? Though none of us run for office, or join a parliamentary party? Maybe you agree at this point, that here we run in circles rather than charge forward.

REPLY TO JACK CONTINUED...

It is a matter of who you can save, and who you can help. And how many you can turn to anarchist/libertarian socialist reasoning, and so work to a bigger goal. And then there is WAR. A matter that you see very little of in USA anarchist magazines. As if mass bombardment of human beings is a lesser subject than what Bookchin wrote last year.

I guess most of them figure 'everyone' reads CAQ, MNM, or the Nation. Very few do, and I hate that about the american far-left. They offer no general information as if 'we all know'. Again putting themselves in some tofu-eating pierced-booby corner, (whoops-reactionary-I like tofu-and boobs), wherein it is more important to decide who is anarchist or 'right' rather than save lives, increase democracy, or at least, make sure your neighbors have enough to eat. And try to get their kids outta of prisons.

Even you Jack, you keep talking about this Chomsky OSHA thing, that I have not seen, and demand to see in context before I comment, as if that is so important. It's not. He saved lives by his work for Timor. He and Zinn and others were responsible for inspiring (note: not leading) a bottom-up immediate mass demonstrations against the Iraq bombing. Did it slow it? None of us can say for sure. But the demonstrations were larger, and more 'coercive' against the gov't than that we saw in the first four years of bombing the hell out of south Vietnamese (JFK- 61 to 63). There were no mass demonstrations or strikes in the US against the bombing of civilians from 61 to 65.

Their writings are considered far-left propaganda by liberals and the right for a reason. But I think we are quibbling now...and no need to even answer me on this. I feel if people who consistently espouse very 'anarchist' ideas, i.e. bottom organizing to change things, demand of direct democracy, working to a world where the 'people' decide what is being produced and how, as both Zinn and Chomsky do, and they then call themselves an anarchist-socialist (Zinn), or anarchist-syndicalist (Chomsky, Cockburn), then that is fine with me, and I do not see them, or anyone else as a spokesperson for anarchism. No one ever is, and is rarely treated that way outside of the corporate press. The politics and philosophy deny centering on dictates by spokespeople, while a socialist party with its hierarchies and party lines, always has spokespeople and leaders who do represent a party line and are treated as such; and often quizzed by their party's vanguard on how they will answer questions to outsiders! When you see a description of Emma by a sympathetic biographer, you see 'Emma, anarchist, feminist, propagandist, etc'..., not Emma the Spokeswoman for Anarchy.

Noam Chomsky in Social Anarchism #20, 1995: [in reply to a big essay by John Moore on an approach to contemporary anarchism, writing about Noam, Fredy and Bookchin, that I personally found lethargic, and repellent.]

"About the more general issues, frankly, I'm reluctant to become engaged. The world I live in, and see around me, has no resemblance to what Perlman writes about, and only limited resemblance to what Bookchin writes (very well) about. As for scarcity, a different matter, it surely has to do with options: when they are greater, deprivation is greater for those who cannot gain access to them. The answer to this is not to eliminate options. That seems to me too obvious to merit much discussion."

In the world that I see, most people are struggling to survive, while a few (including me) are very rich. That's the world I want to change. I can't spend my time arguing about things that seem to me hopelessly abstracted from human existence, now or in the foreseeable future."

I agree completely with Noam..

And then, on my part, I believe in **complete coercion** by the voice, bodies, work-place shutdowns, of large educated masses of people when engaged in non-hierarchical organizing, AGAINST the very small minority who control the economics, security forces, and the military. History of our gains is a continual forced compliance and push, pith, and brunt and with all the strain we can throw upon their heads to gain momentum to get to a better world. And this in turn almost always incites violence from the state. The liberals then turn on the people engaged in forceful demands saying they are "instigating the violence". This is nothing new. Even MLK jr. recognized that their (SNCC, SCLC) actions, though non-violent, were meant to incite violence to unmask the state's real ugly face. Some of them were delighted the night after Bull Connor laid in heavy; they knew pictures of Connor's dogs would wake millions from slumber. So am I promoting violence while organizing for a general strike knowing in all probability that some type of massacre will happen? Not according to how fondly even bourgeois history looks on past actions and pushes for justice from France 1789 to the SF general strike in 1934. Not according to even how bourgeois justice has ruled in courts about the issue of self-defense, and right to assemble. But still the liberals in each era, and the extreme pacifists, call the pushes, the mass unarmed action violent. And history buries this absurdity mostly not because of left rational thought 'invading the campuses', but because it is necessary for the state to convince citizens of a capitalist democracy that all past increases of democracy, or simple increased 'reforms', and workplace rights were welcomed at the time.....since they have to convince the majority that this democracy will respect the voice of the people. Obviously never true at each step forward. But it is necessary to bury the initial reactions of our media's 'liberals' to mass dissent. Carl Rowen, a black journalist still on shitty PBS news hours as a 'liberal' was damning MLK in 65 as going too far; at the behest of the FBI, documents now show.

I am trying to destroy this new use of the word 'coercion'. I can be called playing-the-system or playing-vanguard-coercion just by forcing a rich person to give a worker a better deal. Absurd. Spin in circles while the rich gain more and more.

And I know I can't pull you over on this.....but I want to make it clear to readers also, that I think we have unknowingly accepted bourgeois ideas about very relative concepts of what is morally or ethically right and wrong. It is morally right for life without parole for Jack the murderer, in complete isolation, and morally right to accept without mass anger Clinton's viciously wrong bombing of five countries killing tens of thousands of civilians, and who then aided in billions to the governments down south to continue massacring farmers and union workers. Not from my realm of morals.

Such are the differences of morals in my world. I will not accept that 'pacifism' has anything to do with anarchism. Only that non-violent actions are logical and most times ethical within the western democracies.

So each time, each push, each act of civil disobedience, each bottom-up, planned (and contrived) pull of the pliers we bring down on a municipal government, state, or corporate behemoth with the non-violent march of our boots, with the resounding chorus "Freedom ... or else..." is always labeled as violent, and 'coercive' against their acceptable channels of dissent through the rigged representative democracy I live in.....or it is called 'commie led' in the US supported fascist states that people south live in. Five fingers make a fist said the Wobblies. I want to be part of a fist! A free-swinging group fist too, not connected to a guiding arm of a 'vanguard'.

I believe in the will of an educated group, a mass, a majority of citizens to exert demanding and complying coercion to those who own our democratic outlets and dictate all facets of our life. Till the day I die, I will fight to MAKE the ruling class, the corporations, the people in control, recognize the will and needs of the majority. I see no other need for an anarchist's life. I see no other justification for it. To demand freedom, economic and political! To demand that our planet stop being ravaged. It is common sense. It is social ecology, it is anarchist-syndicalism. It is libertarian socialism. It is an ongoing war by the majority! We wage war without their weapons of mass destruction, without their warrior caste, without the hierarchies that a military demands, and we move to destroy the institutions by the force of our numbers, hearts, and never dying will for a better world. Not as a 'peoples' ravage', or as a destruction in the sense of wanton murder, arson, or revenge, but as enactment of direct democracy and sustainable just economics by whatever peaceful means the majority of the world can utilize. But as we know, even a march of thousands angry workers on strike brings the guns out. And I see our ethics here and in europe outside this neo-anarchist individualist strain, as also encompassing day-to-day consideration. This may include supporting the rank and file of some conservative union (see Malatesta above), or pulling a lever for a local progressive city supervisor. These are small parts of our day to day lives and can't be allowed within any reason to place these far-left workers/activists/apathetic pissed off into a degrading linear 'reformist' tag. Here we are in the most successful experiment in state propaganda (see Chomsky on discussion of Lippman etc) and a large majority of people don't vote. Obviously human beings are capable of so much more than ledge or abyss positions. You agree with me on that. The political is separate from the social, in the US's 'democratic' sense. And no one with a brain confuses an idle angry pull in a voting booth as a dictation of your real desires, wants, and plans for the future.

John of Imagine zine truncated my letter in his new issue to delete all references to his holy damn of the 'word' socialism, and only printed 1/5th of my letter to make fun of the fact that I vote. Granted like I said, the letter should have been edited maybe, but his reply is revealing on why he cut it. He says, that me voting for rent control is 'coercion'. Because I am 'forcing' the landlord to charge me cheaper rent. Such a great zine and a smart guy, and I am baffled by this leap of logic.

If anyone can turn minor stop-gaps, or gains to the idea that I am 'working the system against itself', I am completely befuddled by this logic also. I am not working anything. I am screwed. Everyone that is not part of the top 20% is screwed. When some worker uses a lawyer, or a law, the person is still there in the previous situation. We, or he/she, used legal avenues to not become in a worse place. The 90's anarchists would argue, 'then why bother', and yeah that looks good on paper. That is, if the person is no better off, 'then why bother'? I can only answer, why do THEY bother calling themselves an anarchist? That if you can't help even a neighbor, or fellow worker, since you're being stifled by ideological constraints, muzzling your own very human innate desire to help fellow humans, why call yourself an anarchist? 100 years of anarchist writing and action speaks resolutely of the individual's desire to better the lives of others. I don't have to quote to prove this. And this included mass anarchist demands for something simple as an 8 hour day, and that it was to be enacted in law, and enforced. Yes this is true! Anarchists all over the western democracies demanded that workplace rights be made law! It was common sense. Better to trust a corrupt representative democracy and it's available recourse through a court system, than the word of corporate bosses.....and that the 'breaking of laws' in a democracy would spark the ire of many more citizens than this or that individual boss going back on a hourly or wage promise. I am feeling nuts that I have to even argue this: that anarchists have always 'used' laws, judges, lawyers, sympathetic politicians and the monetary donations of rich liberals!!! It is a matter of goddamn survival, and day-to-day

discussion amongst ones peers of how to get out of any mess, or how to push the heel back up one bit. I surmise that the gap of this missing 'wacky anarchist history' that may be a 'complete lie' to some neo-anarchist, is the gap in their own reading. That they read a few pamphlets by our heroes, but never the actual HISTORY that these anarchists were engaged in. It's also a big gap, in rational thought that is buttressed by the realities and unpredictable effects of organizing. Day to day democratic discussion in the 'union' hall should decide whether collections are made to hire a good lawyer, or to storm the city jail!

Really Jack, don't you figure that most american anarchists have only read a few Emma pamphlets, but never really read deep Living my Life and then Berkman's writings, and then Letters about Spain? You can find a very 'reformist' Emma in involvement with the CNT. She refused at the time to publicly denounce the CNT for joining in the popular front government. A horrible CNT mistake, as was the trusting CNT backdown in the may days of Barcelona. She criticized them. But continued to work for them in trying to counter the lying socialist UK propaganda. A mistake in hindsight? Well we have never been involved in a real revolution that was also fighting a war for survival. I won't take an armchair hindsight against 1936-39. As you don't either, as you show by your admiration of the Lincoln Brigade member, most of whom were at first CP controlled, and believed the anti-CNT propaganda. Only later did most them realize they had been used by Stalin to discredit the real revolution....and the masses of Spain...which history finally has reversed itself to show that most in Spain were anarchist, not Stalinists or even socialist. But the Lincoln Brigade fought heroically. More than you can say for the VAST majority of Europe's Social Democrats.

Save who you can anyway you can, outside of suicidal armed attacks. Voting doesn't work or it would be illegal was a spray paint early 80's punk anarchist slogan. Now it has become an ideology set in stone, not part of a rational dissection of bourgeois capitalist democracy. A Leninist type of top-down dictate. If a worker votes, that worker can't be an anarchist and should be held up for derision no matter what they do in their lives, outside that yearly visit to a ballot box. Absurd as you agree.

Hey Jack, the index for Emma's "Living My Life" sucks. You can't even look up the IWW. But since I have read it three times I was able to find many very positive references to the IWW (hehehe-smiley face! Here!). People nowadays (not you) read these two volumes without realizing the revolutionary potential that was stirring all across the world, not just in the western democracies. 1880 to 1925 was a time of complete upheaval all across the world. Emma comes across to many young inexperienced readers as 'always too right'.....cuz she was....and within the times, it was not cuz she was genius (though she was) but because there was a vibrant worldwide left-socialist and anarchist movement that she got information from and engaged in vibrant discussion with. Even the middle of the road american socialist press had a distribution into the hundred's of thousands. Compare that population with today's and the fact that then there were over ten thousand very left independent newspapers in a multitude of languages and you realize how sparse in a country of now 280 million our avenues of discussion are. So take that, and then see that her criticisms were in an open venue that allowed more discussion, within a working populace that actually knew the difference between revolutionary or industrial syndicalism against parliamentary

MY REPLY TO JACK CONTINUED...

between the great Debs and the right socialists of the day. Rosa was murdered after WW1 by order of the German "socialists", but if I excerpt Rosa here, and I will this issue, I could be called a closet marxist! Facts about Lenin and his Cheka secret police and prisons began to filter into the other countries only around 1920 to 1925; they are common knowledge among non-vanguard leftists today, but what is not also known is the massive splits from left to right in most left parties and syndicalist movements at the time. Many other earth-shattering events were taking place. But all along, Emma was able to take a very rational and always common sense stance on progressive actions, and workers' battles.

Within that present, people were able to criticize their 'comrades' strongly without it becoming an outright damnation. She criticized the IWW, as any anarchist would since any 'syndicalist' type of union can promote hierarchies as Bookchin has stated, but she loved them Jack. And they WERE mostly anarchist. The union was formed in 1905. By 1907 half the socialists bolted. Even Debs backed off later because of their anti-ballot and decentralized structure and make-up. I have read more than eight books about the IWW. I was in the union for about ten years.

Half the union in the early 20's (already decimated by mass arrests and 2 to 10 year prison sentences/Palmer raids) refused to support Lenin's Russia anymore. Many of the 'right' side later joined the new communist party of the 20's. What other 'left' union split so early over the emerging police state in Russia? Intelligent, informed mostly anarchist they were, they would not back down in the name of 'solidarity'. I advocate the IWW as a model for an anarchist syndicalist union for the USA now. I wish and hope to push people to join by the hundreds of thousands. I have re-read the constitution recently. And I know we could come up with 'something better' but as an inspiring, near directly democratic and historical still-living union, I can't deny its power and its certainty to take hold again.

Emma on the IWW: "At the height of the Lawrence strike [the Lawrence Textile Strike- mostly women, bottom up beauty that our history books don't mention!-ed] I was approached by Mr. Sol Fieldman, a New York socialist, in regard to two debates on the difference in theory and tactics between socialism and anarchism. I had debated with socialists all through the US, but never in my own city. I was glad of the opportunity and the proposal caught Ben's fancy.It occurred to me that the debate presented a splendid occasion to raise a substantial sum for the Lawrence strike, and Mr. Fieldman agreed. Nothing was said as to whom should make the appeal, but I set my heart upon having Big Bill do it. He, in the very thick of the battle, was the most appropriate person for the purpose.

Mr. Fieldman wanted to supply the chairman from his own ranks.On the day of the debate my opponent informed me that he was still without a chairman and that he had been severely censured by his socialist comrades for having proposed the debate. "Very well, we'll write for Bill Haywood," I said "he'll be glad and surprised and he is the man to make the appeal."

Mr. Fieldman knew his catechism. He recited his Marxist story...but not one original or independent thought did he advance.The historic data and current facts I advanced to prove the deterioration of socialism in Germany, the betrayal on the part of most socialists who had achieved power.....all that Mr. Fieldman conveniently ignored. Our debate on political versus direct action, at the Republic Theatre, was more spirited. Many IWW boys were present and gave the proceedings heightened color. The Lawrence strike [organized IWW] served me as an illuminating example of direct action. My opponent did not feel quite so sure of himself as when he had presented the socialist

theory with such finality. He was especially nonplused by the questions hurled at him from the gallery by an IWW boy: "How would political action serve the mass of migratory workers, who are never long enough in one place to be able to register for voting, or the millions of boys and girls under age and without right to the ballot? Is not direct mass action their only medium, and the most effective to gain economic redress? The textile workers in Lawrence, for instance, should they have waited until they had voted their socialist comrades into the Massachusetts legislature?"

....My opponent sweated.....This was too much for the overall brigade. They howled with laughter, stamped their feet, and intoned IWW songs."

There are many more laudatory references to Gurley Flynn, Tresca, and other Wobs during its peak period. She did love 'the boys of the IWW' but did not withhold criticism, and as she should have been, was furious at Big Bill Haywood for jumping bail and joining the Bolsheviks. That, though, was 10 years AFTER the IWW's strongest period. Emma also spent much time and effort to defend Wobblies arrested prior to WW1. But then Emma would help any 'leftist' to get outta of prison. Her heart was that big, as ours should be.

In regards to my perhaps dated word usage that you reminded me of, let me be more clear, and hopefully upcoming issues with history of the horrible AFL and then the CIO when it merged will make it more clear how much I despise contemporary union leadership and bureaucracies. The word union has varied meaning across the world, and through history and through classes. You even made me reconsider using the word 'union' in describing this meeting hall and organizing 'hang-out' that I am going to open. But I argued with myself and went back to my original purpose. Both this union word, and 'democracy', and 'workers' should be made as vibrant as they were prior to the suffocating 1950's of the western democracies, and their bastardization by Europe's social democrats between the wars. Part of why I am excited about this magazine: To reclaim these words, as well as 'morals' and 'ethics' from the capitalist schools and media. I want people to walk into this place thinking 'union hall', oh no, a bunch of arrogant old white guys-now middle class cuz they slammed the door on immigrants and blacks for the past 50 years to hold onto their few 'skilled trades— talking about their boys' club'.....then these people will see the red and black flags, the 100 heroes on the wall (from Debs, to Emma to Ben Fletcher) and wonder right away if that THEY haven't been taken, been lied to, been blinded, their whole life about what a union was originally meant to be by the 'left', and the real unions' rank and file heroic and very democratic battles in our history. And this blindness was directly instituted and directed by the AFL, 50's CIO, Teamsters, as viciously as by the ruling class, through 'education' projects and direct complicity with US security forces, including 100 years of scabbing by AFL members against radical unions, including even the AFL funding with the CIA the USAID program to stop leftist unions down south, including funding death squads. The CIO with the help and at the behest of the FBI, and democrat liberal allies, purged their union of all radical members.....over a million workers were kicked out at the least accusation of being 'red' in the 50's. Some union. Some democracy!

Though it will be tiring, each issue I will go over my views again on these three words. I can already see that half my print run will go to 'new' people each issue. The red and black flag of anarchism specifically connotes anarchist-syndicalism. Syndicalism comes from the French word syndicalisme AND the Italian and Spanish words for union, both spelled the same I believe: SINDICATE!

So why would I support a strike? Simply, it is the rank and file making democratic and economic demands. And nine times out of

ten, the national headquarters of ALL our present "unions" don't assist them. I am supporting the 'workers' as well as helping the workers struggle against that 'second front'—their right-wing union leadership. And people are learning the 'facts' even in this horribly propagandized country. When a union bureaucrat comes to plead complacency to rank-n-file strikers, you can bet you will hear guffaws if HE tries to sing solidarity forever! It is a red and black song!! (See story of P-9 in Austin ..as well as mid-70's battles within UMW, among others—rank and file attacking the union bureaucrats). The AFL even left out verses on their approved-recorded versions in the 50's of Solidarity Forever. Similar to how we sing in our schools Woody's Song "This Land" without the most important verses.. ...the word union is like democracy...different meanings, and varied mechanics....

And the 'workers'. Damn it, you turned around and threw that horrible modern 'proletariat' marxist definition at me! That is, the only 'workers' are industrial assembly line people or have a 'blue' color; as in large centered manufacturing complexes—a set place—not a grouping such as 'service sector industry'. This is also the liberal definition. I cringe every time I pick up a Nation or In These Times and see an article about 'labor' doing this or that. 'Labor' to them is not the masses, the people, but that unionized minority involved in a battle on two fronts. We all 'work' in some way our life, and only a small minority control the means of production, the media machine, and the mechanisms of discussion within this 'democracy'. I consider everyone not part of the ruling class, who doesn't support it, and who is not rich, a worker. Then we can separate that bottom 75% in this country into the managerial class, the professional class, the petty bourgeoisie etc....but I prefer an all encompassing term that will welcome all people and freedom-fighters. I will interchange this word with 'the people' often. Any Leninist/Maoist Marxist could rip this apart. So be it. It is lazy, revisionist, too 'reformist' in its acceptance of the American middle class. WUMPF!

Their science is not my dictionary to a free left-libertarian ecological society. Someone that doesn't 'work' in the 9 to 5 cubicle or factory sense is also a worker to me. An artist, a writer, a fella picking bottles out of the trash, an ex-felon that can't get work, a mother on welfareall workers to me. And why not? Why would anyone think any different unless they support the present divisions of wealth, and status, and divide by what is 'good' work vs 'shit work'. And for that matter, why is someone defined for LIFE by what their parents did, what job they worked for five years, or level of education? It's year 2001, not 1848. In this very rich country one in five people dip way below the poverty line and then back above in just a five year span. Are the 'dot-com yuppies' workers? These very young who are mostly only educated in the business sciences with no exposure to the 'humanities', who make more than most of our parents, and appear to exist only for consumerist principles? Of course. Unless they prove to us otherwise. What will they be doing in ten years? Back down to the below median wage like the rest of us. The 'golden years' of the 50's and 60's for the white working/middle class will never come back again to any large segment of this country. That is obvious.

It is also disaster knowing Italian, and German history to succumb to the marxist definition by closing the doors on the small business/self employed crafts and trade people, and 'professionals'. This 'middling' class was the bulwark of fascist support initially, besides the military's; the support was not from a majority of the working class ballot vote as we are taught in US history classes.

Really, some radicals' definitions of yuppie vs working class, is what car they drive vs. riding a bike. We're gonna really organize fast with that kind of reactionary surface decision making no doubt.....cars are a status symbol for american workers, immigrant or native.

There are varying definitions of 'rich'....small business owner

(half of whom lose their ass the first five years and have to go back to 'work' and I would add that running a small business is extremely hard and mind-numbing work)....and even what is a 'manager' as in rate of salary compared to bottom level worker...etc....but what is lost on these liberal and scientific marxist definitions is the totality of the person. What position are they in for life? What are their goals outside of their need to work to pay bills and 'consume' as we all do? What are their stated definitions of freedom, progress, their place in the battle against the 'void'??? Who is anyone to judge how the future will change all of us in ten years?

To exist and postulate with set parameters only on the present denies a future. [...] We negate the present if we discipline the future within the present's parameters of cognition. It then becomes the always and constant rather than tomorrow's past.

What anarchist propaganda and in-depth history I have read agrees with me on this in basic principle of open the doors and come on in. Let the individual prove to the group they are unworthy of organizing as a 'comrade', before we damn them. Get rid of the jerk later when the group decides it, not at the door, by official maxim. Marxists (leninists, trots anyway) hate this shit. It connotes naiveness, and lack of discipline. A 'wishy-washy' economic revisionist-bourgeois viewpoint. That is why they have to have a vanguard leadership. The masses are always 'undisciplined'. I disagree completely obviously.

This is one of the basic reasons for the split between anarchists and socialists 100 years ago. The 'Bakunists' (the vast majority of the members of the international actually—members outside Germany and the UK) fought the takeover and institution of Marx's crowd who instituted a vote coup for a base regulation of 'how' socialism was going to be brought about. Bakunin rightly pleaded, very nicely compared to Marx's attacks, that the wording should be general and that most definitely ballot box socialism should be left out, and that instead the 'rules' would let each federated branch of the International decide its own direction.

You and I can agree on how the 20th century represents the idea of discipline and purity of dialectics; that it leads to nothing better than reformist social democrat capitalist democracy and often to worse. So much for leninist-marxist criticisms of our lack of discipline and centralization. Yes Federate! Confederate! No Maxims from top down! And thank you, we are so undisciplined, you can bet we won't be able to build concentration camps, or allow our 'leaders' to use the state military in shooting 'leftist adventurers' as did the German 'socialists' over and over again from 1917 to 1930.

No stalin, pol pot, mao, castro.....will ever be part of our ill-defined road to the future!

When the first split in the IWW happened at the 1907 convention, between the ballot box socialists and the left and anarchists, the latter formed the IWW as we know it and thousands of Wobblies hopped freights to assist in the pull left. They wrote a song for the occasion "Hallelujah! I'm a Bum!" and sang it marching into the hall. There's some good intimidation! Coercion! The right socialists frightened at this 'lumpen' show of FORCE bolted! Later these right socialist intellectuals formed a union that excluded blacks. And most supported entering WW1! An imperialist chess game of massacre if there ever was one—obvious from the start of the rattling of sabers.

The Social Democrat leadership in Germany relied on trusting the National Socialists (Nazis) to respect constitutional law. They were then smashed, dispersed, with the 'liberals' watching. The rank and file pleaded for arms. The lead

MY REPLY TO JACK CONTINUED..

ership had used the military, the warrior caste from WW1 against strikes, massacring workers. [...] Such is the nature of 'discipline' instituted by 'leadership'; its end result is always self-serving, anti-democratic, and easily swayed to totalitarian impulses left or right.

Ok, Jack, I went too far. Maybe you will be the only human that reads this whole thing. Half of what I wrote barely applies to your letter. So what? If anything, I know better what I think and believe because of your letters. This is no small leap, if I can speak between the two of us. Some baggage we chose to carry, some you let be confiscated at the station as contraband or merely....old drugs for an old headache. Some we check in, cuz it's important I take this with me to the new Barcelona.

[...]You won't get such long replies in the future when I open the 'place'. I will be too busy. But I promise to answer all your letters. And as for the warning about 'being taken advantage of'. Hey, fella, I just turned 40-I ain't stupid. A friend warned me too about this 'prison correspondence' and sending gifts. I just laughed. [...]

About Seattle, I thought maybe you were getting very little real info about it after the second letter. The cops were beating the shit out of people at least two hours before the black bloc broke any windows. I mean the cops were literally, in their new stormtrooper gear, beating the fucking shit out of everyone hours before one window was broken. Some liberals, including Media B of Global Exchange, took it upon themselves to try and 'correct' the image the mainstream media would center on of a few broken up places by screaming, 'these people were violent, where were the police?' And only mentioning half-ass, as liberals do, about the massive beatings workers, people, whatever, had received hours before only four blocks away. I still personally would say, I have no problem with an autonomous group bashing some corporate windows; they stated explicitly at the general meetings before the first day of protest, that they would do it and by all accounts, the members of the democratic left/anarchist organizations-the DAN- (meaning not the visible/press liberals) did not try to stalinize on them to stop it. There is a video of Media of Global Exchange trying to 'arrest' kids, black and white, that were busting windows. Which side do us 'non-violent anarchists' put ourselves on, when cops four blocks away hours previous are shooting, gassing and beating the fuck out of workers, many who wouldn't dream of smashing a Gap window. It is a question of a black-white mirror image of morals and ethics as far as I am concerned. I can see the whole scenario as a mirror, while the liberals see only what comes through the corporate camera lens. In a democracy, if the security forces beat upon people, shoot them with rubber bullets and gas them while they are practicing their right of free assembly while the media focuses only on four or five multi-national corporate edifices being attacked, I would question a pundit's ethics to side against the 'rabble'. Then I am on the side of 'rabble'. And I will restrain a 'snitch' liberal faster than I will stop someone from breaking a window.

When they mention very little of the thousands that were beaten up by our 'democracy's security forces, the hundreds detained for weeks without legal recourse, in fact, an institution of a temporary police state which is very common in 'upheavals' in the past 50 years, it makes me want to smash some windows too.

And Jack, the whole demonstration against the WTO has nothing to do with in-state injustice? Actually it's all one big

picture. The WTO, and the original GATT accords, combined with the newly conferenced FTAA(americas) GATT type accords, all deal with the privatization of resources, municipal and state and federal institutions being subservient to corporate 'rights' and 'free trade'. What these agreements mean, if followed to the letter, and the people in turtle suits where only physically trying to portray this, is that every environmental regulation, every nationalized utility, even municipal transportation systems and water supplies (Bolivia) and yes, even prisons, would HAVE to be privatized. Because any government interference in any economy or part of social life would be "restraint of free trade". Basically these treaties raise the corporation above the democratic decisions of ANY nation state. And so negate any basic demand of all parts of each society's already torn fabric by locked-in treaty.

Obviously, the USA is the slowest to enact the rule, while pushing it on other countries the hardest. We are still one of the most subsidized nation-states in the world as in terms of tariffs and subsidies for corporations and agriculture, alongside Germany, Japan, South Korea, France etc. But this contradiction never plays in the press. The 'trade' treaties are really a forced boot, with compliance by each countries' third world or not, ruling class. [...]

My point? Believe me, the majority of the people in Seattle had the drug war and the american gulag on their mind. These ARE the people that are organizing prison activist projects in all our urban areas; the ones who send books to prisons that let them in, and do those writing projects that you were part of. Seattle focused the world on an issue that encompasses the complete negation of ANY democracy people of the world hold onto now. But it was a protest specifically against the WTO, and its relatives, the IMF, and the various trade lockdowns. Not an organized protest against the US prison system. But it is all one big picture. Sadly I have to agree with you though on us outsiders really not being more coercive and forceful enough on registering our disgust with the incarceration of so many workers...and the absence of any help when they get outside and in fact, a system of denial of rights that throws most back into 'crime'. We have not organized in such tens of thousands of numbers to 'shut the prison system down' or to 'stop the drug war', but many people are on the streets about this, without any media coverage...t..the media picks and choosesand wondering what will get covered centers activists on demonstrations and takes away from actual organizing and education.

The Mumia demonstrations are largely made up of these topics outside his obvious unfair trial. He may be guilty but the trial and the 'witnesses' sure didn't prove it. When the media cover these events, they only cover the people yelling 'innocent' over and over, and not the thousands there protesting the whole court and prison system.

....And here is a joke: I don't usually like 'jokes' and their set-ups, but thought this was worth it:

☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺



The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), The FBI, and the CIA are all trying to prove that they are the best at apprehending criminals. The President decides to give them a test. He releases a rabbit into a forest and each of them has to catch it.

The CIA goes in. They place animal informants throughout the forest. They question all plant and mineral witnesses. After three months of extensive investigations they conclude that rabbits do not exist.

The FBI goes in. After two weeks with no leads they burn the forest, killing everything in it, including the rabbit, and they make no apologies. The rabbit had it coming.

The LAPD goes in. They come out two hours later with a badly beaten bear. The bear is yelling: "Okay! Okay! I'm a rabbit! I'm a rabbit!"

Talk to you soon,

Tommy

PS: your drawings are welcome. You should do the cover for #3. How about 'life looking out at the 'pelicans' on the bay'? Whoaa, don't know where I'm going with that.....

THE END.....until next issue....



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John Williams "One for New York" (first published as the Angry Ones in the US 1974)

Southerners are this way to me: The Germans had left snipers in Viareggio. Not a single street was safe, especially one corner near the edge of town. And the Germans never missed. There had been the usual friction between Negro and white troops, but it was intensified when some Southern boys moved into town. As long as Negro troops were on the street, the white Southern boys walked across that intersection where the snipers never missed. They wouldn't run. They walked as though they were making it through a park or something, and all of use loitered in doorways to watch them. Shaking in their white skins, those crackers stepped from cover. Bang! His fellows ran out and dragged him in. Another cracker boy would have to cross the street. He would look from cover to see how many of us were in the doors and windows watching, and when he saw, he would walk out. Bang! They would rather die than be afraid in front of a Negro, and we gathered along the walls and in the doors and windows every day to make sure at least a few of them and their Southern pride died.



In this 7/1/37 letter Emma Goldman continues her discussion with Tom Bell on how violence in war and revolution affects long-standing anarchist principles. "... Do I mean to suggest that Anarchists should not carry out in practice what they have preached? That they should limit anyone's freedom? Not at all. I only mean to say that life is stronger than theory and that the Anarchists have not given enough thought to the emergencies arising out of a Revolution and even more so of a civil war. For myself I would rather have my liberties taken away than be guilty of depriving others thereof. But I cannot expect large groups of comrades to submit to a similar course. It is therefore extremely difficult and has so far been impossible to live up to the fullest to our Anarchist ideals.

It seems to me that the reason for the difference between Anarchist principles and tactics lies much deeper than the inconsistency of our comrades. It lies in the fact that Anarchism and Revolution are of themselves separate and distinct. Revolution is always coercive and violent-it is always the culminating expression of the accumulated wrong and injustice as well as brutalities caused by our system; to expect therefore that people who have for centuries known every physical and mental torture should during the Revolution deal with their enemies with kid gloves and gentleness, this is expecting the superhuman of the individual and the most impossible of the mass. Now while we realize that fundamental changes have never taken place without a revolutionary upheaval we must face the fact that we cannot expect Anarchism [to be] expressed to the fullest during the revolutionary period. All we can expect is that Anarchists should avoid organized dictatorship and organized terror; that is precisely what the Spanish Anarchists have done and for which they deserve the highest credit."- Emma Goldman

Misconceptions of Anarchism

Sam Dolgoff

(This talk discussed the main principles of constructive anarchism.)

Anarchism Is Not Absolute Anti-social Individualism

Anarchism does not connote absolute, irresponsible, anti-social individual freedom which violates the rights of others and rejects every form of organization and self-discipline. Absolute individual freedom can be attained only in isolation- if at all: "What really takes away liberty and makes initiative impossible is the isolation which renders one powerless." (Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, Freedom Press, p. 87) Anarchism is synonymous with the term "free socialism" or "social anarchism." As the term "social" itself implies, anarchism is the free association of people living together and cooperating in free communities. The abolition of capitalism and the state; workers' self-management of industry; distribution according to needs; free association; are principles which, for all socialist tendencies, constitute the essence of socialism. To distinguish themselves from fundamental differences about how and when these aims will be realized, as well as from the anti-social individualists, Peter Kropotkin and the other anarchist thinkers defined anarchism as the "left wing of the socialist movement." The Russian anarchist Alexei Borovoi declared that the proper basis for anarchism in a free society is the equality of all members in a free organization. Social anarchism could be defined as the equal right to be different.

Anarchism Is Not Unlimited Liberty Nor the Negation of Responsibility

In social relations between people certain voluntary social norms will have to be accepted, namely, the obligation to fulfil a freely accepted agreement. Anarchism is not no government. Anarchism is self-government (or its equivalent, self-administration). Self-government means self-discipline. The alternative to self-discipline is enforced obedience imposed by rulers over their subjects. To avoid this, the members of every association freely make the rules of their association and agree to abide by the rules they themselves make. Those who refuse to live up to their responsibility to honor a voluntary agreement shall be deprived of its benefits.

The Right to Secede

Punishment for violation of agreements is balanced by the inalienable right to secede. The right of groups and individuals to choose their own forms of association is, according to Bakunin, the most important of all political rights. The abrogation of this right leads to the reintroduction of tyranny. You cannot secede from a jail. Secession will not paralyze the association. People with strong, overriding common interests will cooperate. Those who stand more to lose by seceding will compromise their differences. Those who have little or nothing in common with the collectivity will not hurt the association by seceding, but will, on the contrary, eliminate a source of friction, thereby promoting general harmony.

Essential Difference Between Anarchism and the State

The vast difference between the anarchist concept of freely accepted authority in the exchange of services which is the administration of

things, differs fundamentally from the authority of the state, which is the rule over its subjects, the people. For example, repairing my television: the authority of the expert mechanic ends when the repairs are made. The same applies when I agree to paint the mechanic's room. The reciprocal exchange of goods and services is a limited, not a personal, cooperative relationship which automatically excludes dictatorship. But the state, on the contrary, is an all-pervading apparatus governing every aspect of my life from conception to death, whose every decree I am compelled to obey or suffer harassment, abrogation of rights, imprisonment and even death.

People can freely secede from a group or association, even organize one of their own. But they cannot escape the jurisdiction of the state. If they finally do succeed in escaping from one state to another they are immediately subjected to the jurisdiction of the new state.

Replacing the State

Anarchist concepts are not artificially concocted by anarchists. They are derived from tendencies already at work. Kropotkin, who formulated the sociology of anarchism, insisted that the anarchist conception of the free society is based on "those data which are already supplied by the observation of life at the present time." The anarchist theoreticians limited themselves to suggest the utilization of all the useful organisms in the old society in order to construct a new one. That the "elements of the new society are already developing in the collapsing bourgeois society" (Marx) is a fundamental principle shared by all tendencies in the socialist movement. The anarchist writer, Colin Ward, sums up this point admirably: "If you want to build the new society, all the materials are already at hand."

Anarchists seek to replace the state, not with chaos, but with the natural, spontaneous forms of organization that emerged wherever mutual aid and common interests through coordination and self-government became necessary. It springs from the ineluctable interdependence of mankind and the will to harmony. This form of organization is federalism. Society without order (as the term "society" implies) is inconceivable. But the organization of order is not the exclusive monopoly of the state. Federalism is a form of order which preceded the usurpation of society by the state and will survive it.

There is barely a single form of organization which, before it was usurped by the state, was not originally federalist in character. To this day only the listing of the vast network of local, provincial, national and international federations and confederations embracing the totality of social life would easily fill volumes. The federated form of organization makes it practical for all groups and federations to reap the benefits of unity and coordination while exercising autonomy within their own spheres, thus expanding the range of their own freedom. Federalism - synonym for free agreement - is the organization of freedom. As Proudhon put it, "He who says freedom without saying federalism, says nothing."

After the Revolution

Society is a vast interlocking network of cooperative labour, and all the deeply rooted institutions now usefully functioning will in some form continue to function for the simple reason that the very existence of mankind depends upon this inner cohesion. This has never been questioned by anyone. What is needed is emancipation from authoritarian institutions over society and authoritarianism within the organizations themselves. Above all, they must be infused with revolutionary spirit and confidence in the creative capacity of the people. Kropotkin, in working out the sociology of anarchism, has opened an area of fruitful research which had been largely neglected by social scientists busily mapping out new areas for state control.

The anarchists were primarily concerned with the immediate problems of social transformation that will have to be faced in any country after a revolution. It was for this reason that the anarchists tried to work out measures to meet the pressing problems most likely to emerge during what the anarchist writer-revolutionary Errico Malatesta called "the period of reorganization and transition." A summary of Malatesta's discussion of some of the more important questions follows.

Crucial problems cannot be avoided by postponing them to the distant future - perhaps a century or more - when anarchism will have been fully realized and the masses will have finally become convinced and dedicated anarcho-communists. We anarchists must have our own solution if we are not to play the role of "useless and impotent grumblers," while the more realistic and unscrupulous authoritarians seize power. Anarchy or no anarchy, the people must eat and be provided with the necessities of life. The cities must be provisioned and vital services cannot be disrupted. Even if poorly served the people in their own interests would not allow anyone to disrupt these services unless and until they are reorganized in a better way, and this cannot be achieved in a day.

The organization of the anarchist-communist society on a wide scale can only be achieved gradually as material conditions permit, and the masses convince themselves of the benefits to be gained and as they gradually become psychologically accustomed to radical alterations in their way of life. Since free and voluntary communism (Malatesta's synonym for anarchism) cannot be imposed, Malatesta stressed the necessity for the coexistence of various economic forms - collectivist, mutualist, individualist - on condition that there will be no exploitation of others. Malatesta was confident that the convincing example of successful libertarian collectives will attract others into the orbit of the collectivity . . . for my part, I do not believe that there is "one" solution to the social problem but a thousand different and changing solutions, in the same way as social existence is different in time and space. [Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, edited by Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, London, pp. 36, 100, 99, 103-4, 101, 151, 159]

"Pure" Anarchism Is a Utopia

"Pure" anarchism is defined by the anarchist writer George Woodcock as "the loose and flexible affinity group which needs no formal organization and carries on anarchist propaganda through an invisible network of personal contacts and intellectual influences." Woodcock argues that "pure" anarchism is incompatible with mass movements like anarcho-syndicalism because they need stable organizations precisely because it moves in a world that is only partially governed by anarchist ideals . . . and make compromises with day-to-day situations . . . [anarcho-syndicalism] has to maintain the allegiance of masses of [workers] who are only remotely conscious of the final aim of anarchism. [Anarchism, pp. 273-4]

If these statements are true, anarchism is a Utopia, because there will never be a time when everybody will be a "pure" anarchist and because humanity will forever have to make "compromises with the day-to-day situation." This is not to say that anarchism excludes "affinity groups." Indeed, it is precisely because the infinite variety of voluntary organizations which are formed, dissolved and reconstructed according to the fluctuating whims and fancies of individual adherents reflect individual preferences that they constitute the indispensable condition for the free society.

But the anarchists insist that production, distribution, communication exchange and the other indispensable which must be coordinated on a world-wide scale in our modern interdependent world must be supplied without fail by "stable" organizations and cannot be left to the fluctuating whims of individuals. They are social obligations which every able-bodied individual must fulfil if he or she expects to enjoy the benefits of collective labour. It should be axiom

atic that such indispensable "stable" associations, anarchistically organized, are not a deviation. They constitute the essence of anarchism as a viable social order.

Charting the Road to Freedom

Anarchists are not so naive as to expect the installation of the perfect society composed of perfect individuals who would miraculously shed their ingrown prejudices and outworn habits on the "day after the revolution." We are not concerned with guessing how society will look in the remote future when heaven on earth will at last be attained. But we are above everything else, concerned with the direction of human development. There is no "pure" anarchism. There is only the application of anarchist principles to the realities of social living. The one and only aim of anarchism is to propel society in an anarchist direction.

Thus viewed, anarchism is a believable, practical guide to social organization. It is otherwise doomed to Utopian dreams, nor a living force.

From "Fragments: A Memoir", by Sam Dolgoff (Refract Publications, 1986)



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THE METHODS OF ANARCHO- SYNDICALISM *by Rudolf Rocker*

It has often been charged against Anarcho-Syndicalism that it has no interest in the political structure of the different countries, and consequently no interest in the political struggles of the time, and confines its activities entirely to the fight for purely economic demands. This idea is altogether erroneous and springs either from outright ignorance or willful distortion of the facts. It is not the political struggle as such which distinguishes the Anarcho-Syndicalists from the modern labour parties, both in principle and tactics, but the form of this struggle and the aims which it has in view. They by no means rest content with the ideal of a future society without overlordship; their efforts are also directed, even today, at restricting the activities of the state and blocking its influence in every department of social life wherever they see an opportunity. It is these tactics which mark off anarcho-syndicalist procedure from the aims and methods of the political labour parties, all of whose activities tend constantly to broaden the sphere of influence of the political power of the state and to extend it in ever greater measure over even the economic life of society. But by this, in the outcome, the way is merely prepared for an era of state capitalism, which according to all experience may prove to be just the opposite of what Socialism is actually striving for.

The attitude of Anarcho-Syndicalism towards the political power of the present-day state is exactly the same as it takes toward the system of capitalist exploitation. Its adherents are perfectly clear that the social injustices of that system rest, not on its unavoidable excrescences, but in the capitalist economic order as such. But, while their efforts are directed at abolishing the existing form of capitalist exploitation and replacing it by a Socialist order, they never for a moment forget to work also by every means at their command to lower the rate of profit of the capitalists under existing conditions, and to raise the producer's share of the products of his labour to the highest possible.

Anarcho-Syndicalists pursue the same tactics in their fight against that political power which finds its expression in the state. They recognize that the modern state is just the consequence of capitalist economic monopoly, and the class divisions which this has set up in

society, and merely serves the purpose of maintaining this status by every oppressive instrument of political power. But, while they are convinced that along with the system of exploitation its political protective device, the state, will also disappear, to give place to the administration of public affairs on the basis of free agreement, they do not all overlook that the efforts of the worker within the existing political order must always be directed toward defending all achieved political and social rights against every attack of reaction, constantly widening the scope of these rights wherever the opportunity for this presents itself.

For just as the worker cannot be indifferent to the economic conditions of his life in existing society, so he cannot remain indifferent to the political structure of his country. Both in the struggle for his daily bread and for every kind of propaganda looking toward his social liberation he needs political rights and liberties, and he must fight for these himself in every situation where they are denied him, and must defend them with all his strength whenever the attempt is made to wrest them from him. It is, therefore, utterly absurd to assert that the anarcho-syndicalists take no interest in the political struggles of the time. The heroic battle of the CNT in Spain against Fascism is, perhaps, the best proof that there is not a grain of truth in this idle talk.

But the point of attack in the political struggles lies, not in the legislative bodies, but in the people. Political rights do not originate in parliaments, they are, rather, forced upon parliaments from without. And even their enactment into law has for a long time been no guarantee of their security. Just as the employers always try to nullify every concession they had made to labour as soon as opportunity offered, as soon as any signs of weakness were observable in the workers' organizations, so governments also are always inclined to restrict or to abrogate completely rights and freedoms that have been achieved if they imagine that the people will put up no resistance. Even in those countries where such things as freedom of the press, right of assembly, right of combination, and the like, have long existed, governments are constantly trying to restrict those rights or to reinterpret them by judicial hair-splitting. Political rights do not exist because they have been legally set down on a piece of paper, but only when they have become the ingrown habit of a people, and when any attempt to impair them will meet with the violent resistance of the populace. Where this is not the case, there is no help in any parliamentary Opposition or any Platonic appeals to the constitution. One compels respect from others when he knows how to defend his dignity as a human being. This is not only true in private life, it has always been the same in political life as well.

The peoples owe all the political rights and privileges which we enjoy today in great or lesser measure, not to the good will of their governments, but to their own strength. Governments have employed every means that lay in their power to prevent the attainment of these rights or to render them illusory. Great mass movements among the people and whole revolutions have been necessary to wrest these rights from the ruling classes, who would never have consented to them voluntarily. One needs only study the history of the past three hundred years to understand by what relentless struggles every right has had to be

wrested inch by inch from the despots. What hard struggles, for example, had the workers in England, France, Spain, and other countries to endure to compel their governments to recognize the right of trade union organization. In France the prohibition against trade unions persisted until 1886. Had it not been for the incessant struggles of the workers, there would be no right of combination in the French Republic even today. Only after the workers had by direct action confronted parliament with accomplished facts, did the government see itself obliged to take the new situation into account and give legal sanction to the trade unions. What is important is not that governments have decided to concede certain rights to the people, but the reason why they have had to do this. To him who fails to understand the connection here history will always remain a book with seven seats.

Of course, if one accepts Lenin's cynical phrase and thinks of freedom as merely a 'bourgeois prejudice', then, to be sure, political rights and liberties have no value at all for the workers. But then all the countless struggles of the past, all the revolts and revolutions to which we owe those rights, are also without value. To proclaim this bit of wisdom it would hardly have been necessary to overthrow tsarism, for even the censorship of Nicholas II would certainly have had no objection to the designation of freedom as a 'bourgeois prejudice'. Moreover the great theorists of reaction, Joseph de Maistre and Louis Bonald, had already done this, though in different words, and the defenders of absolutism had been very grateful to them.

But the Anarcho-Syndicalists would be the very last to mistake the importance of these rights to the workers. If they, nevertheless, reject any participation in the work of bourgeois parliaments, it is not because they have no sympathy with political struggles in general, but because they are firmly convinced that parliamentary activity is for the workers the very weakest and most hopeless form of the political struggle. For the bourgeois classes the parliamentary system is without a doubt an appropriate instrument for the settlement of such conflicts as arise, and for making profitable collaboration possible, as they are all equally interested in maintaining the existing economic order and the political organization for the protection of that order. Now, where a common interest exists, a mutual agreement is possible and serviceable to all parties. But for the working class the situation is very different. For them the existing economic order is the source of their economic exploitation, and the organized power of the state the instrument of their political and social subjection. Even the freest ballot cannot do away with the glaring contrast between the possessing and the non-possessing classes in society. It can only serve to impart to a system of social injustice the aspect of legal right and to induce the slave to set the stamp of legality on his own servitude.

But, most important of all, practical experience has shown that the participation of the workers in parliamentary activity cripples their power of resistance and dooms to futility their warfare against the existing system. Parliamentary participation has not brought the workers one iota nearer to their

final goal; it has even prevented them from protecting the rights they have won against the attacks of reaction. In Prussia, for example, the largest state in Germany, where the Social Democrats until shortly before Hitler's accession to power were the strongest party in the government and had control of the most important ministries in the country, Herr von Papen, after his appointment as Reichskanzler by Hindenburg, could venture to violate the constitution of the land and dissolve the Prussian ministry with only a lieutenant and a dozen soldiers. When the Socialist Party in its helplessness could think of nothing to do after this open breach of the constitution except to appeal to the high court of the Reich instead of meeting the perpetrators of the coup d'état with open resistance, the reaction knew that they had nothing to fear and from then on could offer the workers what they pleased. The fact is that von Papen's coup d'état was merely the start along the road to the Third Reich.

Anarcho-Syndicalists, then, are not in any way opposed to the political struggle, but in their opinion this struggle, too, must take the form of direct action, in which the instruments of economic power which the working class has at its command are the most effective. The most trivial wage-fight shows clearly that, whenever the employers find themselves in difficulties, the state steps in with the police, and even in some cases with the militia, to protect the threatened interests of the possessing classes. It would, therefore, be absurd for them to overlook the importance of the political struggle. Every event that affects the life of the community is of a political nature. In this sense every important economic action, such, for example, as a general strike, is also a political action and, moreover, one of incomparably greater importance than any greater importance than any parliamentary proceeding. Of a political nature is likewise the battle of the Anarcho-Syndicalists against Fascism and the antimilitarist propaganda, a battle which for decades was carried on solely by the libertarian Socialists and the Syndicalists, and which was attended by tremendous sacrifices.

The fact is that, when the Socialist labour parties have wanted to achieve some decisive political reform, they have always fought that they could not do so by their own strength and have been obliged to rely wholly on the economic fighting power of the working class. The political general strikes in Belgium, Sweden and Austria for the attainment of universal suffrage are proof of this. And in Russia it was the great general strike of the working people that in 1905 pressed the pen into the tsar's hand for the signing of the constitution. What the heroic struggle of the Russian intelligentsia had not been able to accomplish in decades, the united economic action of the working class quickly brought to fulfillment.

The focal point of the political struggle lies, then, not in the political parties, but in the economic fighting organizations of the workers. It was the recognition of this which

Rocker continued...

impelled the AnarchoSyndicalist's to centre all their activity on the Socialist education of the masses and on the utilization of their economic and social power. Their method is that of direct action in both the economic and the political struggles of the time. That is the only method which has been able to achieve anything at all in every decisive moment in history. And the bourgeoisie in its struggles against absolutism has also made abundant use of this method, and by refusal to pay taxes, by boycott and revolution, has defiantly asserted its position as the dominant class in society. So much the worse if its representatives of to-day have forgotten the story of their fathers, and howl bloody murder at the 'unlawful methods' of the workers fighting for liberation. As if the law had ever permitted a subject class to shake off its yoke.

By direct action the Anarcho-Syndicalists mean every method of immediate warfare by the workers against their economic and political oppressors. Among these the outstanding are- the strike, in all its gradations from the simple wage struggle to the general strike; the boycott; sabotage in its countless forms; antimilitarist propaganda; and in peculiarly critical cases, such, for example, as that in Spain today, armed resistance of the people for the protection of life and liberty.

Among these fighting techniques the strike, that is, organized refusal to work is the most used. It plays in the industrial age the same role for the workers, as did their frequent uprisings for the peasants in the feudal era. In its simplest form it is for the workers an indispensable means of raising their standard of living or defending their attained advantages against the concerted measures of the employers. But the strike is for the workers not only a means for the defense of immediate economic interests, it is also a continuous schooling for their powers of resistance, showing them every day that every least right has to be won by unceasing struggle against the existing system.

Just as are the economic fighting organizations of the workers, so also are the daily wage-struggles a result of the capitalist economic order, and consequently, a vital necessity for the workers. Without these they would be submerged in the abyss of poverty. Certainly the social problem cannot be solved by wage-struggles alone, but they are the best educative instrument for making the workers acquainted with the real essence of the social problem, training them for the struggle for liberation from economic and social slavery. It may also be taken as true that so long as the worker has to sell hands and brain to an employer, he will in the long run never earn more than is required to provide the most indispensable necessities of life. But these necessities of life are not always the same, but are constantly changing with the demands which the worker makes on life.

Here we come to the general cultural significance of the labour struggle. The economic alliance of the producers not only affords them a weapon for the enforcement of better living conditions, it becomes for them a practical school, a university of experience, from which they draw instruction and enlightenment in richest measure. The practical experiences and occurrences of the everyday struggles of the workers find an intellectual precipitate in their organizations, deepen their understanding, and broaden their intellectual outlook. By the constant intellectual elaboration of their life experiences there are developed in individuals new needs and the urge for different fields of intellectual life. And precisely in this development lies the great cultural significance of those struggles.

True intellectual culture and the demand for higher interests in life does not become possible until man has achieved a certain material standard of living, which makes him capable of these. Without this preliminary any higher intellectual aspirations are out of the question. Men who are constantly threatened by direst misery can hardly have much understanding of the higher cultural values. Only after the workers, by decades of struggle, had conquered for themselves a better standard of living could there be any talk of intellectual and cultural development among them. But it is just these aspirations of the workers which the employers view with deepest distrust. For capitalists as a class, the well known saying of the Spanish minister, Juan Bravo Murillo, still holds good today: 'We need no men who can think among the workers; what we need is beasts of toil.'

One of the most important results of the daily economic struggles is the development of solidarity among the workers, and this has for them a quite different meaning from the political coalition of parties whose following is composed of people of every social class. A feeling of mutual helpfulness, whose strength is constantly being renewed in the daily struggle for the necessities of life, which is constantly making the most extreme demands on the co-operation of men subjected to the same conditions, operates very differently from abstract party principles, which for the most part are of only Platonic value. It grows into the vital consciousness of a community of fate, and this gradually develops into a new sense of right, and becomes the preliminary ethical assumption of every effort at the liberation of an oppressed class.

To cherish and strengthen this natural solidarity of the workers and to give to every strike movement a more profoundly social character is one of the most important tasks which the Anarcho-Syndicalists have set themselves. For this reason the sympathetic strike is one of their choicest weapons, and has developed in Spain to a compass it has not attained in any other country. Through it the economic battle becomes a deliberate action of the workers as a class. The sympathetic strike is the collaboration of related, but also of unrelated, categories of labour, to help the battle of a particular trade to victory by extending the strike to other

branches of labour, where this is necessary, In this case the workers are not satisfied with giving financial assistance to their fighting brethren, but go further, and by crippling entire industries cause a break in the whole economic life in order to make their demands effective.

Today, when by the formation of national and international trusts and cartels private capitalism grows more and more into monopoly capitalism, this form of warfare is in most cases the only one by which the workers can still promise themselves success. Because of the internal transformation in industrial capitalism the sympathetic strike becomes for the workers the imperative of the hour: just as the employers in their cartels and protective organizations are building an ever broader basis for the defense of their interests, so also the workers must turn their attention to creating for themselves by an ever wider alliance of their national and international economic organizations the required basis for solidaric mass action adequate for the demands of the time. The restricted strike is today losing more and more of its original importance, even if it is not doomed to disappear altogether. In the modern economic struggle between capital and labour the big strike, involving entire industries, will play a larger and larger part. Even the workers in the old craft organizations, which are as yet untouched by Socialist ideas, have grasped that, as is shown clearly enough by the rapid springing up of industrial unions in America in contrast with the old methods of the AF of L.

Direct action by organized labour finds its strongest expression in the general strike, in the stoppage of work in every branch of production by the organized resistance of the proletariat, with all the consequences arising from it. It is the most powerful weapon which the workers have at their command, and gives the most comprehensive expression to their strength as a social factor. After the French trade union congress in Marseilles (1892), and the later congresses of the CGT (General Federation of Labour) had by a large majority declared for the propaganda of the general strike, it was the political labour parties in Germany and most other countries which assailed most violently this form of proletarian action, and rejected it as 'Utopian'. 'The general strike is general madness' was the trenchant phrase which was coined at that time by one of the most prominent leaders of the German Social Democracy. But the great general strike movement of the years immediately following, in Spain, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Russia, and so on, showed clearly that this alleged 'Utopia' lay wholly within the realm of the possible and did not arise merely from the imagination of a few revolutionary fanatics.

The general strike is, of course, not an agency that can be invoked arbitrarily on every occasion. It needs certain social assumptions to give it its proper moral strength and make it a proclamation of the will of the broad masses of the people. The ridiculous claim, which is so often attributed to the Anarcho-Syndicalists, that it is only necessary to proclaim a general strike in order to achieve a Socialist society in a few days, is, of course, just a silly invention of evil-minded opponents bent on discrediting an idea which they cannot at

tack by any other means.

The general strike can serve various purposes. It can be the last stage of a sympathetic strike, as, for example, the general strike in Barcelona in February, 1902, or that in Bilbao in October, 1903, which enabled the mineworkers to get rid of the hated truck system and compelled the employers to establish sanitary conditions in the mines. It can as easily be a means by which organized labour tries to enforce some general demand, as, for example, in the attempted general strike in the USA in 1886, to compel the granting of the eight-hour day in all industries. The great general strike of the English workers in 1926 was the result of a planned attempt by the employers to lower the general standard of living of the workers by a cut in wages.

But the general strike can also have political objectives in view, as, for example, the fight of the Spanish workers in 1904, for the liberation of political prisoners, or the general strike in Catalonia in July, 1909, to compel the government to terminate the war in Morocco. And the general strike of the German workers in 1920, which was instituted after the so-called Kapp putsch and put an end to a government that had attained to power by a military uprising, belongs in this category; as do also the mass strikes in Belgium in 1903, and in Sweden in 1909, to compel the granting of universal suffrage, and the general strike of the Russian workers in 1905, for the granting of the constitution. But in Spain the widespread strike movement among the workers and peasants after the Fascist revolt in July, 1936, developed into a 'social general strike' (huelga general) and led to armed resistance, and with this to the abolishment of the capitalist economic order and the reorganization of the economic life by the workers themselves.

The great importance of the general strike lies in this: At one blow it brings the whole economic system to a standstill and shakes it to its foundations. Moreover, such an action is in no wise dependent on the practical preparedness of all the workers, as all the citizens of a country have never participated in a political overturn. That the organized workers in the most important industries quit work is enough to cripple the entire economic mechanism, which cannot function without the daily provision of coal, electric power, and raw materials of every sort. But when the ruling classes are confronted with an energetic, organized working class, schooled in daily conflict, and are aware of what they have at stake, they become much more willing to make the necessary concessions, and, above all, they fear to take a course with the workers which might drive them to extremes. Even Jean Jaures who, as a Socialist parliamentarian, was not in agreement with the idea of the general strike, had to concede that the constant danger arising from the possibility of such a movement admonished the possessing classes to caution and, above everything, made them strong from the suppression of hard-won rights since they saw this could easily lead to catastrophe.

But at the time of a universal social crisis, or when, as today in Spain, the concern is to protect an entire people against the attacks of benighted reactionaries, the general strike is an invaluable weapon, for which there is no substitute. By crippling the whole public life it makes difficult mutual agreements of the representatives of the ruling classes and the local officials with the central government, even when it does not entirely prevent them. Even the use of the army is, in such cases, directed at very different tasks from those of political revolt. In the latter case it suffices for the government, so long as it can rely on the military, to concentrate its troops in the capital and the most important points in the country, in order to meet the danger that threatens,

A general strike, however, leads inevitably to a scattering of the military forces, as in such a situation the important concern is the protection of all important centers of industry and the transport system against the rebellious workers. But this means that military discipline, which is always strongest when soldiers operate in large formations, is relaxed. Where the military in small groups faces a determined people fighting for its freedom, there always exists the possibility that at least a part of the soldiers will reach some inner insight and comprehend that, after all, it is their own parents and brothers at whom they are pointing their weapons. For militarism, also, is primarily a psychological problem, and its disastrous influence always manifests itself most perilously where the individual is given no chance to think about his dignity as a human being, no chance to see that there are higher tasks in life than lending oneself to the uses of a bloody oppressor of one's own people.

For the workers the general strike takes the place of the barricades of the political uprising. It is for them a logical outcome of the industrial system whose victims they are today, and at the same time it offers them their strongest weapon in their struggle for liberation, provided they recognize their own strength and learn how to use this weapon properly. William Morris, with the prophetic vision of the poet, foresaw this development in affairs, when, in his splendid book *News from Nowhere*, he has the Socialist reconstruction of society preceded by a long series of general strikes of ever increasing violence, which shook the old system to its deepest foundation, until at last its supporters were no longer able to put up any resistance against this new enlightenment of the toiling masses in town and country.

The whole development of modern capitalism, which is today growing into an ever graver danger to society, can but serve to spread this enlightenment more widely among the workers. The fruitlessness of the participation of the organized workers in parliaments, which is today becoming more and more manifest in every country, of itself compels them to look about for new methods for the effective defense of their interests and their eventual liberation from the yoke of wageslavery.....

Another important fighting device for direct action is the boycott. It can be employed by the workers both in their character of producers and of consumers. A systematic refusal of consumers to buy from firms that handle goods not produced under conditions approved by the labour unions can often be of decisive importance, especially for those branches of labour engaged in the production of commodities of general use. At the same time the boycott is very well adapted to influencing public opinion in favour of the workers, provided it is accompanied by suitable propaganda. The union label is an effective means of facilitating the boycott, as it gives the purchaser the sign by which to distinguish the goods he wants from the spurious. Even the masters of the Third Reich experienced what a weapon the boycott can become in the hands of great masses of people, when they had to confess that the international boycott against German goods had inflicted serious damage on German export trade. And this influence might have been greater still, if the trade unions had kept public opinion alert by incessant propaganda, and had continued to foster the protest against the suppression of the German labour movement.

As producers the boycott provides the workers with the means of imposing an embargo on individual plants whose owners show themselves especially hostile to trade unions. In Barcelona, Valencia, and Cadiz the refusal of the longshoremen to unload German vessels compelled the captains of those vessels to discharge their cargoes in North African harbors. If the trade unions in other countries had resolved on the same procedure, they would have achieved incomparably greater results than by Platonic protests. In any case the boycott is one of the most effective fighting devices in the hands of the working class, and the more profoundly aware of this device the workers become, the more comprehensive and successful will they become in their everyday struggles.

Among the weapons in the Anarcho-Syndicalist armory sabotage is the one most feared by the employer and most harshly condemned as 'unlawful'. In reality we are dealing here with a method of economic petty warfare that is as old as the system of exploitation and political oppression itself. It is, in some circumstances, simply forced upon the workers, when every other device fails. Sabotage consists in the workers putting every possible obstacle in the way of the ordinary modes of work. For the most part this occurs when the employers try to avail themselves of a bad economic situation or some other favorable occasion to lower the normal conditions of labour by curtailment of wages or by lengthening of the hours of labour. The term itself is derived from the French word, *sabot*, wooden shoe, and means to work clumsily as if by *sabot* blows. The whole import of sabotage is actually exhausted in the motto: for bad wages, bad work. The employer himself acts on the same principle, when he calculates the price of his goods according to their quality. The producer finds himself in

the same position: his goods are his labour-power, and it is only right and proper that he should try to dispose of it on the best terms he can get.

But when the employer takes advantage of the evil situation of the producer to force the price of his labour-power as low as possible, he need not wonder when the latter defends himself as well as he can and for this purpose makes use of the means which the circumstances put in his hand. The English workers were already doing this long before revolutionary Syndicalism was spoken of on the Continent. In fact the policy of 'ca'canny' (go slow), which, along with the phrase itself, the English workers took over from their Scottish brethren, was the first and most effective form of sabotage. There are today in every industry a hundred means by which the workers can seriously disturb production; everywhere under the modern system of division of labour, where often the slightest disturbance in one branch of the work can bring to a standstill the whole process of production. Thus the railway workers in France and Italy by the use of the so-called *greve perlee* (string-of-pearls strike) threw the whole system of transportation into disorder. For this they needed to do nothing more than to adhere to the strict letter of the existing transport laws, and thus make it impossible for any train to arrive at its destination on time. When the employers are once faced with the fact that even in an unfavorable situation, where the workers would not dare to think of a strike, they still have in their hands the means of defending themselves, there will also come to them the understanding that it does not pay to make use of some particular hard situation of the workers to force harder conditions of living upon them.

The so-called sit down strike, which was transplanted from Europe to America with such surprising rapidity and consists in the workers remaining in the plant day and night without turning a finger in order to prevent the installing of strike-breakers, belongs in the realm of sabotage. Very often sabotage works thus. before a strike the workers put the machines out of order to make the work of possible strike-breakers harder, or even impossible for a considerable time. In no field is there so much scope for the imagination of the worker as in this. But the sabotage of the workers is always directed against the employers, never against the consumers. In his report before the congress of the CGT in Toulouse in 1897, Emile Pouget laid special stress on this point. All the reports in the bourgeois press about bakers who had baked glass in their bread, or farm hands who had poisoned milk, and the like, are malicious inventions, designed solely to prejudice the public against the workers.

Sabotaging the consumers is the age-old privilege of the employers. The deliberate adulteration of provisions, the construction of wretched slums and insanitary tenements of the poorest and cheapest material, the destruction of great quantities of food-stuffs in order to keep up prices, while millions are perishing in direst misery, the constant efforts of the employers to force the subsistence of the workers down to the lowest level possible, in order to grab for them-

selves the highest possible profits, the shameless practice of the armament industries of supplying foreign countries with complete equipment for war which, given the appropriate occasion, may be employed to lay waste the country that produced them, all these and many more are merely individual items in an interminable list of types of sabotage by capitalists against their own people.

Another effective form of direct action is the social strike, which will, without doubt, in the immediate future play a much larger part. It is concerned less with the immediate interests of the producers than with the protection of the community against the most pernicious outgrowths of the present system. The social strike seeks to force upon the employers a responsibility to the public. Primarily it has in view the protection of the consumers, of whom the workers themselves constitute the great majority. The task of the trade union has heretofore been restricted almost exclusively to the protection of the worker as producer. As long as the employer was observing the hours of labour agreed on and paying the established wage this task was being performed. In other words: the trade union is interested only in the conditions under which its members work, not in the kind of work they perform. Theoretically it is, indeed, asserted that the relation between employer and employee is based upon a contract for the accomplishment of a definite purpose. The purpose in this case is social production. But a contract has meaning only when both parties participate equally in the purpose. In reality, however, the worker has today no voice in determining production, for this is given over completely to the employer. The consequence is that the worker is debased by doing a thousand things which constantly serve only to injure the whole community for the advantage of the employer. He is compelled to make use of inferior and often actually injurious materials in the fabrication of his products, to erect wretched dwellings, to put up spoiled food-stuffs, and to perpetrate innumerable acts that are planned to cheat the consumer.

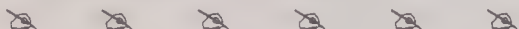
To interfere vigorously here, is, in the opinion of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the great task of the trade unions in the future. An advance in this direction would at the same time enhance the position of the workers in society, and in large measure confirm that position. Various efforts in this field have already been made, as witness, for example, the strike of the building-workers in Barcelona, who refused to use poor material and the wreckage from old buildings in the erection of workers' dwellings (1902), the strikes in various large restaurants in Paris because the kitchen workers were unwilling to prepare for serving cheap, half-decayed meat (1906), and a long list of similar instances in recent times; all going to prove that the workers' understanding of their responsibility to society is growing. The resolution of the German armament workers at the congress in Erfurt (1919) to make no more weapons of war and to compel their employers to convert their plants to

Rocker.....

other uses, belongs also in this category. And it is a fact that this resolution was maintained for almost two years, until it was broken by the Central Trades Unions. The Anarcho-Syndicalist workers of Sommerda resisted with great energy to the last, when their places were taken by members of the 'free labour unions'.

As outspoken opponents of all nationalist ambitions the revolutionary Syndicalists, especially in the Latin countries have always devoted a very considerable part of their activity to anti-militarist propaganda, seeking to hold the workers in soldiers' coats loyal to their class and to prevent their turning their weapons against their brethren in time of a strike. This has cost them great sacrifices; but they have never ceased their efforts, because they know that they can regain their rights only by incessant warfare against the dominant powers. At the same time, however the anti-militarist propaganda contributes in large measure to oppose the threat of wars to come with the general strike. The Anarcho-Syndicalists know that wars are only waged in the interest of the ruling classes; they believe, therefore, that any means is justifiable that can prevent the organized murder of peoples. In this field also the workers have every means in their hands if only they possess the desire and the moral strength to use them.

Above all it is necessary to cure the labour movement of its internal ossification and rid it of the empty sloganeering of the political parties, so that it may forge ahead intellectually and develop within itself the creative conditions which must precede the realization of Socialism. The practical attainability of this goal of Socialism must emerge from all the practical daily struggles, and give them a social character. In the pettiest struggle, born of the needs of the movement, there must be mirrored the great goal of social liberation, and each such struggle must help to smooth the way and strengthen the spirit which transforms the inner longing of its bearers into will and deed. -R. Rocker



"There is, of course, a vast critical literature on cities apart from the lifestyle-carnival tweedle-dum of Gilder and Tweedle-dee of Utne. A host of enlightened commentary on our contemporary predicament sometimes finds its way into the public press: Mike Davis' writing....Salaam Muwakkil's essays on race and urban American; Camilo Jose Vergara's graphic documentation of urban decay.... But by some weird inversion of intellectual value, this sort of responsible discussion remains marginalized while the scatterbrained ravings of writers like Gilder, Alvin Toffler, Tom Peters and Joel Garreau receive the attention and plaudits of the people who will actually be determining our collective future.... We can't understand what's happening because we suffer from a deadly form of civic amnesia, a willingness of all interested parties to imagine themselves cut loose from the past, to forget about whatever it was that caused cities to be built in the first place...we can no longer comprehend the hard, basic urban reality of social class..." - Thomas Frank - The Baffler "20th Century Lite"

Chapter 10 of the

ABC of Anarchism

by Alexander Berkman

written in the 1920's.

Organization of Labor for the Social Revolution

Proper preparation, as suggested in the preceding pages, will greatly lighten the task of the social revolution and assure its healthy development and functioning. Now, what will be the main functions of the revolution? Every country has its specific conditions, its own psychology, habits, and traditions, and the process of revolution will naturally reflect the peculiarities of every land and its people. But fundamentally all countries are alike in their social (rather anti-social) character: whatever the political forms of economic conditions, they are all built on invasive authority: on monopoly; on the exploitation of labor. The main task of the social revolution is therefore essentially the same everywhere: the abolition of government and of economic inequality, and the socialization of the means of production and distribution.

Production, distribution, and communication are the basic sources of existence; upon them rests the power of coercive authority and capital. Deprived of that power, governors and rulers become just ordinary men, like you and me, common citizens among millions of others. To accomplish that is consequently the primal and most vital function of the social revolution.

We know that revolution begins with street disturbances and outbreaks; it is the initial phase which involves force and violence. But that is merely the spectacular prologue of the real revolution. The age long misery and indignity suffered by the masses burst into disorder and tumult, the humiliation and injustice meekly borne for decades find vent in acts of fury and destruction. That is inevitable, and it is solely the master class which is responsible for this preliminary character of revolution. For it is even more true socially than individually that "whoever sows the wind will reap the whirlwind;" the greater the oppression and wretchedness to which the masses had been made to submit, the fiercer will rage the social storm. All history proves it, but the lords of life have never hearkened to its warning voice.

This phase of the revolution is of short duration. It is usually followed by the more conscious, yet still spontaneous, destruction of the citadels of authority, the visible symbols of organized violence and brutality; jails, police stations, and other government buildings are attacked, the prisoners liberated, legal documents destroyed. It is the manifestation of instinctive popular justice. Thus one of the first gestures of the French Revolution was the demolition of the Bastille. Similarly in Russia prisons were stormed and the prisoners released at the very outset of the Revolution. The wholesome intuition of the people justly sees in prisoner's social unfortunates, victims of conditions, and sympathizes with them as such. The masses regard the courts and their records as instruments of class injustice, and these are destroyed at the beginning of the revolution, and quite properly. But this stage passes quickly; the people's ire is soon spent. Simultaneously the revolution begins its constructive work.

"Do you really think that reconstruction could start so soon?" you ask.

My friend, it must begin immediately. In fact, the more enlightened the masses have become, the clearer the workers realize their aims, and the better they are prepared to carry them out, the less destructive the revolution will be, and the quicker and more effectively will begin the work of reconstruction.

"Are you not too hopeful?"

No, I don't think so. I am convinced that the social revolution will not "just happen." It will have to be prepared, organized. Yes, indeed, organized—just as a strike is organized. In truth, it will be a strike, the strike of the united workers of an entire country—a general strike.

Let us pause and consider this.

How do you imagine a revolution could be fought in these days of armored tanks, poison gas, and military planes? Do you believe that the unarmed masses and their barricades could withstand highpower artillery and bombs thrown upon them from flying machines? Could labor fight the military forces of government and capital?

It's ridiculous on the face of it, isn't it? And no less ridiculous is the suggestion that the workers should form their own regiments, shock troops, or a "red front," as the communist parties advise you to do. Will such proletarian bodies ever be able to stand up against the trained armies of the government and the private troops of capital? Will they have the least chance?

Such a proposition needs only to be stated to be seen in all its impossible folly. It would simply mean sending thousands of workers to certain death.

It is time to have done with this obsolete idea of revolution. Nowadays government and capital are too well organized in a military way for the workers ever to be able to cope with them. It would be criminal to attempt it, insanity even to think of it.

The strength of labor is not on the field of battle. It is in the shop, in the mine and factory. There lies its power that no army in the world can defeat, no human agency conquer. In other words, the social revolution can take place only by means of the General Strike. The General Strike, rightly understood and thoroughly carried out, is the social revolution. Of this the British Government became aware much quicker than the workers when the General Strike was declared in England in May, 1926. "It means revolution," the Government said, in effect, to the strike leaders. With all their armies and navies the authorities were powerless in the face of the situation. You can shoot people to death, but you can't shoot them to work. The labor leaders themselves were frightened at the thought that the General Strike actually implied revolution. British capital and government won the strike—not by the strength of arms, but because of the lack of intelligence and courage on the part of the labor leaders and because the English workers were not prepared for the consequences of the General Strike. As a matter of fact, the idea was quite new to them. They had never before been interested in it, never studied its significance and potentialities. It is safe to say that a similar situation in France would have developed quite differently, because in that country the toilers have for years been familiar with the General Strike as a revolutionary proletarian weapon.

It is most important that we realize that the General Strike is the only possibility of social revolution. In the past the General Strike has been propagated in various countries without sufficient emphasis that its real meaning is revolution, that it is the only practical way to it. It is time for us to learn this, and when we do so the social revolution will cease to be a vague, unknown quantity. It will become an actuality, a definite method and aim, a program whose first step is the taking over of the industries by organized labor.

"I understand now why you said that the social revolution means construction rather than destruction," your friend remarks.

I am glad you do. And if you have followed me so far, you will agree that the matter of taking over the industries is not something that can be left to chance, nor can it be carried out in a haphazard manner. It can be accomplished only in a well-planned, systematic, and organized way. You alone can't do it, nor I, nor any other man, be he worker, Ford, or the Pope of Rome. There is no man nor any body of men that can manage it except the workers themselves, for it takes the workers to operate the industries. But even the workers can't do it unless they are organized and organized just for such an undertaking.

"But I thought you were an anarchist," interrupts your friend. I've heard that anarchists don't believe in organization."

I imagine you have, but that's an old argument. Any one who told you that anarchists don't believe in organization is talking nonsense. Organization is everything, and everything is organization. The whole of life is organization, conscious or unconscious. Every nation, every family, why, even every individual is an organization or organism. Every part of every living thing is organized in such a manner that the whole works in harmony. Otherwise the different organs could not function properly and life could not exist. [!-ts]

But there is organization and organization. Capitalist society is so badly organized that its various members suffer: just as when you have pain in some part of you, your whole body aches and you are ill. There is organization that is painful because it is ill, and organization that is joyous because it means health and strength. An organization is ill or evil when it neglects or suppresses any of its organs or members. In the healthy organism all parts are equally valuable and none is discriminated against. The organization bent on compulsion, which coerces and forces, is bad and unhealthy. The libertarian organization, formed voluntarily and in which every member is free and equal, is a sound body and can work well. Such an organization is a free union of equal parts. It is the kind of organization the anarchists believe in. Such must be the organization of the workers if labor is to have a healthy body, one that can operate effectively.

It means, first of all, that not a single member of the organization or union may with impunity be discriminated against, suppressed or ignored. To do so would be the same as to ignore an aching tooth you would be sick all over.

In other words, the labor union must be built on the principle of the equal liberty of all its members.

Only when each is a free and independent unit, co-operating with the others from his own choice because of mutual interests, can the whole work successfully and become powerful.

This equality means that it makes no difference what or who the particular worker is: whether he is skilled or unskilled, whether he is mason, carpenter, engineer or day laborer, whether he earn much or little. The interests of all are the same; all belong together, and only by standing together can they accomplish their purpose. It means that the workers in the factory, mill or mine must be organized as one body; for it is not a question of what particular jobs they hold, what craft or trade they follow, but what their interests are. And their interests are identical, as against the employer and the system of exploitation.

Consider yourself how foolish and inefficient is the present form of labor organization in which one trade or craft may be on strike while the other branches of the same industry continue to work. Is it not ridiculous that when the streetcar workers of New

Berkman Continued...

....York, for instance, quit work, the employees of the subway, the cab and omnibus drivers remain on the job? The main purpose of a strike is to bring about a situation that will compel the employer to give in to the demands of labor. Such a situation can be created only by a complete tie-up of the industry in question, so that a partial strike is merely a waste of labor's time and energy, not to speak of the harmful moral effect of the inevitable defeat.

Think over the strikes in which you yourself have taken part and of others you know of. Did your union ever win a fight unless it was able to compel the employer to give in? But when was it able to do so? Only when the boss knew that the workers meant business, that there was no dissent among them, that there was no hesitation or dallying, that they were determined to win, at whatever cost. But particularly when the employer felt himself at the mercy of the union, when he could not operate his factory or mine in the face of the workers' resolute stand, when he could not get scabs or strikebreakers, and when he saw that his interests would suffer more by defying his employees than by granting their demands.

It is clear, then, that you can compel compliance only when you are determined, when your union is strong, when you are well organized "when you are united in such a manner that the boss cannot run his factory against your will. But the employer is usually some big manufacturer or a company that has mills or mines in various places. Suppose it is a coal combine. If it cannot operate its mines in Pennsylvania because of a strike, it will try to make good its losses by continuing mining in Virginia or Colorado and increasing production there. Now, if the miners in those States keep on working while you in Pennsylvania are on strike, the company loses nothing. It may even welcome the strike in order to raise the price of coal on the ground that the supply is short because of your strike. In that way the company not only breaks the strike, but it also influences public opinion against you, because the people foolishly believe that the higher price of coal is really the result of your strike, while in fact it is due to the greed of the mine owners. You will lose your strike, and for some time to come you and the workers everywhere will have to pay more for coal, and not only for coal but for all the other necessities of life, because together with the price of coal the general cost of living will go up.

Reflect, then, how stupid is the present union policy to permit the other mines to operate while your mine is on strike. The others remain at work and give financial support to your strike, but don't you see that their aid only helps to break your strike, because they have to keep on working, really scabbing on you, in order to contribute to your strike fund? Can anything be more senseless and criminal?

This holds true of every industry and every strike. Can you wonder that most strikes are lost? That is the case in America as well as in other countries. [and holds true 80 years later!-ts] [.....]

..... This does not mean, however, that strikes serve no purpose. On the contrary, they are of great value: they teach the worker the vital need of co-operation, of standing shoulder to shoulder with his fellows and unitedly fighting in the common cause. Strikes train him in the class struggle and develop his spirit of joint effort, of resistance to the masters, of solidarity and responsibility. In this sense even an unsuccessful strike is not a complete loss. Through it the toilers learn that "an injury to one is the concern of all," the practical wisdom that embodies the deepest meaning of the proletarian struggle. This does not relate only to the daily battle for material betterment, but equally so to everything pertaining to the worker and his existence, and particularly to matters where justice and liberty are involved.

It is one of the most inspiring things to see the masses roused on behalf of social justice, whomever the case at issue may concern. For, indeed, it is the concern of all of us, in the truest and deepest sense. The more labor becomes enlightened and aware of its larger interests, the broader and more universal grow its sympathies, the more world-wide its defense of justice and liberty. It was a manifestation of this understanding when the workers in every country protested against the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts. Instinctively and consciously the masses throughout the world felt, all decent men and women, that it is their concern when such a crime is being perpetrated. Unfortunately that protest, as many similar ones, contented itself with mere resolutions. Had organized labor resorted to action, such as a general strike, its demands would not have been ignored, and two of the workers' best friends and noblest of men would not have been sacrificed to the forces of reaction.

Equally important, it would have served as a valuable demonstration of the tremendous power of the proletariat, the power that always conquers when it is unified and resolute. This has been proven on numerous occasions in the past when the determined stand of labor prevented planned legal outrages, as in the case of Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone, officials of the Western Federation of Miners. Whom the coal barons of the State of Idaho had conspired to send to the gallows during the miners' strike of 1905. Again, in 1917, it was the solidarity of the toilers which thwarted the execution of Tom Mooney in California. The sympathetic attitude of organized labor in America towards Mexico has also till now been an obstacle to the military occupation of that country by the United States Government on behalf of the American oil interests. [very true, contingents of the IWW even went south to fight-and may be true today, why there has not been outright intervention against the uprising in Chiapas-ts] Similarly in Europe united action by the workers has been successful in repeatedly forcing the authorities to grant amnesty to political prisoners. The Government of England so feared the expressed sympathy of British labor for the Russian Revolution that it was compelled to pretend neutrality. It did not dare openly to aid the counter-revolution in Russia. When the dock workers refused to load food and ammunition intended for the White armies, the English Government resorted to deception. It solemnly assured the workers that the shipments were intended for France. In the course of my work collecting historic material in Russia, in 1920 and 1921. I came into possession of official British documents proving that the shipments had been immediately forwarded from France, by direct orders of the British Government, to the counter-revolutionary generals in the North of Russia who had established there the so-called Tchaikovsky-Miller Government. This incident-one of many-demonstrates the wholesome fear the powers that be have of the awakening class-consciousness and solidarity of the international proletariat.

The stronger the workers grow in this spirit the more effective will be their struggle for emancipation. Class-consciousness and solidarity must assume national and international proportions before labor can attain its full strength. Wherever there is injustice, wherever persecution and suppression-be it the subjugation of the Philippines, the invasion of Nicaragua, the enslavement of the toilers in the Congo by Belgian exploiters, the oppression of the masses in Egypt, China, Morocco, or India-it is the business of the workers everywhere to raise their voice against all such outrages and demonstrate their solidarity in the common cause of the despoiled and disinherited throughout the world.

Labor is slowly advancing to this social consciousness: strikes and other sympathetic expressions are a valuable manifestation of this. If the greater number of strikes are lost at present, it is because the proletariat is not yet fully aware of its national and international interests, is not organized on the right principles, and does

not sufficiently realize the need of world-wide co-operation.

Your daily struggles for better conditions would quickly assume a different character if you were organized in such a manner that when your factory or mine goes on strike, the whole industry should quit work; not gradually but at once, all at the same time. Then the employer would be at your mercy; for what could he do when not a wheel turns in the whole industry? He can get enough strikebreakers for one or a few mills, but an entire industry cannot be supplied with them, nor would he consider it safe or advisable. Moreover, suspension of work in any one industry would immediately affect a large number of others, because modern industry is interwoven. The situation would become the direct concern of the whole country; the public would be aroused and demand a settlement. (At present, when your single factory strikes, no one cares and you may starve as long as you remain quiet). That settlement would again depend on yourself, on the strength of your organization. When the bosses would see that you know your power and that you are determined, they'd give in quickly enough or seek a compromise. They would be losing millions every day. The strikers might even sabotage the works and machinery, and the employers would be only too anxious to "settle," while in a strike of one, factory or district they usually welcome the situation, knowing as they do that the chances are all against you.

Reflect, therefore, how important it is in what manner, on what principles your union is built, and how vital labor solidarity and co-operation are in your every-day struggle for better conditions. In unity is your strength, but that unity is non-existent and impossible as long as you are organized on craft lines instead of by industries. There is nothing more important and urgent than that you and your fellow workers see to it immediately that you change the form of your organization. But it is not only the form that must be changed. Your union must become clear about its aims and purposes. The worker should most earnestly consider what he really wants, how he means to achieve it, by what methods. He must learn what his union should be, how it should function, and what it should try to accomplish.

Now, what is the union to accomplish. What should be the aims of a real labor union?

First of all, the purpose of the union is to serve the interests of its members. That is its primary duty. There is no quarrel about that; every working-man understands it. If some refuse to join a labor body it is because they are too ignorant to appreciate its great value, in which case they must be enlightened. But generally they decline to belong to the union because they have no faith or are disappointed in it. Most of those who remain away from the union do so because they hear so much boasting about the strength of organized labor while they know, often from bitter experience, that it is defeated in almost every important struggle. "Oh, the union," they say scornfully, "it don't amount to anything." To speak quite truthfully, to a certain extent they are right. They see organized capital proclaim the open shop policy and defeat the unions; they see labor leaders sell out strikes and betray the workers; they see the membership, the rank and file, helpless in the political machinations in and out of the union. To be sure, they don't understand why it is so; but they do see the facts, and they turn against the union.

Some again refuse to have anything to do with the union because they had at one time belonged to it, and they know what an insignificant rôle the individual member, the average worker, plays in the affairs of the organization. The local leaders, the district and central bodies, the national and international officers, and the chiefs of the American Federation of Labor, in the United States, "run the whole show," they will tell you; "you have nothing to do but vote, and if you object you'll fly out."

Unfortunately they are right. You know how the Union is managed. The rank and file have little to say. They have delegated

the whole power to the leaders, and these have become the boss, just as in the larger life of society the people are made to submit to the orders of those who were originally meant to serve them—the government and its agents. Once you do that, the power you have delegated will be used against you and your own interests every time. And then you complain that your leaders "misuse their power." No, my friend, they don't misuse it; they only use it, for it is the use of power which is itself the worst misuse.

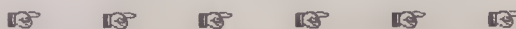
All this has to be changed if you really want to achieve results. In society it has to be changed by taking political power away from your governors, abolishing it altogether. I have shown that political power means authority, oppression, and tyranny; and that it is not political government that we need but rational management of our collective affairs.

Just so in your union you need sensible administration of your business. We know what tremendous power labor has as the creator of all wealth and the supporter of the world. If properly organized and united, the workers could control the situation, be the masters of it. But the strength of the worker is not in the union meeting-ball; it is in the shop and factory; in the mill and mine. It is there that he must organize; there, on the job. There he knows what he wants, what his needs are, and it is there that he must concentrate his efforts and his will. Every shop and factory should have its special committee to attend to the wants and requirements of the men; not leaders, but members of the rank and file, from the bench and furnace, to look after the demands and complaints of their fellow employees. Such a committee, being on the spot, and constantly under the direction and supervision of the workers, wields no power: it merely carries out instructions. Its members are recalled at will and others selected in their place, according to the need of the moment and the ability required for the task in hand. It is the workers who decide the matters at issue and carry their decisions out through the shop committees.

That is the character and form of organization that labor needs. Only this form can express its real purpose and will be its adequate spokesman, and serve its true interests. These shop and factory committees, combined with similar bodies in other mills and mines, associated locally, regionally and nationally, would constitute a new type of labor organization which would be the virile voice of toil and its effective agency. It would have the whole weight and energy of the united workers at the back of it and would represent a power tremendous in its scope and potentialities.

In the daily struggle of the proletariat such an organization would be able to achieve victories about which the conservative union, as at present built, cannot even dream. It would enjoy the respect and confidence of the masses, would attract the unorganized and unite the labor forces on the basis of the equality of all workers and their joint interests and aims. It would face the masters with the whole might of the working class back of it, in a new attitude of consciousness and strength. Only then would labor acquire dignity and the expression of it assume real significance.

Such a union would soon become something more than a mere defender and protector of the worker. It would gain a vital realization of the meaning of unity and consequent power, of labor solidarity. The factory and shop would serve as a training camp to develop the worker's understanding of his proper rôle in life, to cultivate his self-reliance and independence, teach him mutual help and co-operation, and make him conscious of his responsibility. He will learn to decide and act on his own judgment, not leaving it to leaders or politicians to attend to his affairs and look out for his welfare. It



.....will be he who will determine, together with his fellows at the bench, what they want and what methods will best serve their aims, and his committee on the spot would merely carry out instructions. The shop and factory would become the worker's school and college. There he will learn his place in society, his function in industry, and his purpose in life. He will mature as a workingman and as a man, and the giant of labor will attain his full stature. He will know and be strong thereby.

Not long will he then be satisfied to remain a wage slave, an employee and dependent on the good will of his master whom his toil supports. He will grow to understand that present economic and social arrangements are wrong and criminal, and he will determine to change them. The shop committee and union will become the field of preparation for a new economic system, for a new social life.

You see, then, how necessary it is that you and I, and every man and woman who has the interests of labor at heart, work toward these objects. And right here I want to emphasize that it is particularly urgent that the more advanced proletarian, the radical and the revolutionary, reflect upon this more earnestly, for to most of them, even to some anarchists, this is only a pious wish, a distant hope. They fail to realize the transcending importance of efforts in that direction. Yet it is no mere dream. Large numbers of progressive workmen are coming to this understanding: the Industrial Workers of the World and the revolutionary anarchist-syndicalists in every country are devoting themselves to this end. It is the most pressing need of the present. It cannot be stressed too much that only the right organization of the workers can accomplish what we are striving for. In it lies the salvation of labor and of the future. Organization from the bottom up, beginning with the shop and factory, on the foundation of the joint interests of the workers everywhere, irrespective of trade, race, or country, by means of mutual effort and united will, alone can solve the labor question and serve the true emancipation of man.

"You were speaking of the workers taking over the industries," your friend reminds you. "How are they going to do it?"

Yes, I was on the subject when you made that remark about organization. But it is well that the matter was discussed, because there is nothing more vital in the problems we are examining. To return to the taking over of the industries. It means not only taking them over, but the running of them by labor. As concerns the taking over, you must consider that the workers are actually now in the industries. The taking over consists in the workers remaining where they are, yet remaining not as employees but as the rightful collective possessors. Grasp this point, my friend. The expropriation of the capitalist class during the social revolution-the taking over of the industries requires tactics directly the reverse of those you now use in a strike. In the latter you quit work and leave the boss in full possession of the mill, factory, or mine. It is an idiotic proceeding, of course, for you give the master the entire advantage; he can put scabs in your place, and you remain out in the cold.

In expropriating, on the contrary, you stay on the job and you put the boss out. He may remain only on equal terms with the rest: a worker among workers.

The labor organizations of a given place take charge of the public utilities, of the means of communication, of production and distribution in their particular locality. That is, the telegraphers, the telephone and electrical workers, the railroad men, and so on, take possession (by means of their revolutionary shop committees) of the workshop, factory, or other establishment. The capitalistic foremen, overseers, and managers are removed from the premises if they resist the change and refuse to co-operate. If willing to participate, they are made to understand that henceforth they are neither masters nor owners: that the factory becomes public property in charge

of the union of workers engaged in the industry, all equal partners in the general undertaking.

It is to be expected that the higher officials of large industrial and manufacturing concerns will refuse to co-operate. Thus they eliminate themselves. Their place must be taken by workers previously prepared for the job. That is why I have emphasized the utmost importance of industrial preparation. This is a primal necessity in a situation that will inevitably develop and on it will depend, more than on any other factor, the success of the social revolution. Industrial preparation is the most essential point, for without it the revolution is doomed to collapse.

The engineers and other technical specialists are more likely to join hands with labor when the social revolution comes, particularly if a closer bond and better understanding have in the meantime been established between the manual and mental workers.

Should they refuse and should the workers have failed to prepare themselves industrially and technically, then production would depend on compelling - the willfully obstinate to co-operate-an experiment tried in the Russian Revolution and proved a complete failure.

The grave mistake of the Bolsheviks in this connection was their hostile treatment of the whole class of the intelligentsia on account of the opposition of some members of it. It was the spirit of intolerance, inherent in fanatical dogma, which caused them to persecute an entire social group because of the fault of a few. This manifested itself in the policy of wholesale vengeance upon the professional elements, the technical specialists, the co-operative organizations, and all cultured persons in general. Most of them, at first friendly to the Revolution, some even enthusiastic in its favor, were alienated by these Bolshevik tactics, and their co-operation was made impossible. As a result of their dictatorial attitude, the communists were led to resort to increased oppression and tyranny till they finally introduced purely martial methods in the industrial life of the country. It was the era of compulsory labor, the militarisation of factory and mill, which unavoidably ended in disaster, because forced labor is, by the very nature of coercion, bad and inefficient: moreover, those so compelled react upon the situation by willful sabotage, by systematic delay and spoilage of work, which an intelligent enemy can practice in a way that cannot be detected in due time and which results in greater harm to machinery and produce than direct refusal to work. In spite of the most drastic measures against this kind of sabotage, in spite even of the death penalty, the government was powerless to overcome the evil. The placing of a Bolshevik, of a political commissar, over every technician in the more responsible positions did not help matters. It merely created a legion of parasitic officials who, ignorant of industrial matters, only interfered with the work of those friendly to the Revolution and willing to aid, while their unfamiliarity with the task in no way prevented continued sabotage. The system of forced labor finally developed in what practically became economic counter-revolution, and no efforts of the dictatorship could alter the situation. It was this that caused the Bolsheviks to change from compulsory labor to a policy of winning over the specialists and technicians by returning them to authority in the industries and rewarding them with high pay and special emoluments. It would be stupid and criminal to try again the methods which have so signally failed in the Russian Revolution and which, by their very character, are bound to fail every time, both industrially and morally.

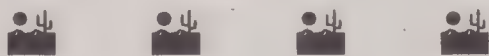
The only solution of this problem is the already suggested preparation and training of the workers in the art of organizing and managing industry, as well as closer contact between the manual and technical men. Every factory, mine, and mill should have its special workers' council, separate from and independent of the shop committee, for the purpose of familiarizing the workers with the various phases of their particular industry, including the sources of raw material, the consecutive processes of manufacture, by-products, and manner

of distribution. This industrial council should be permanent, but its membership must rotate in such a manner as to take in practically all the employees of a given factory or mill. To illustrate: suppose the industrial council in a certain establishment consists of five members or of twenty-five, as the case may be, according to the complexity of the industry and the size of the particular factory. The members of the council, after having thoroughly acquainted themselves with their industry, publish what they had learned for the information of their fellow-workers, and new council members are chosen to continue the industrial studies. In this manner the whole factory or mill can consecutively acquire the necessary knowledge about the organization and management of their trade and keep step with its development. These councils would serve as industrial colleges where the workers would become familiar with the technique of their industry in all its phases.

At the same time the larger organization, the union, must use every effort to compel capital to permit greater labor participation in the actual management. But this, even at best, can benefit only a small minority of the workers. The plan suggested above, on the other hand, opens the possibility of industrial training to practically every worker in shop, mill, and factory.

It is true, of course, that there are certain kinds of work—such as engineering civil, electrical, mechanical—which the industrial councils will not be able to acquire by actual practice. But what they will learn of the general processes of industry will be of inestimable value as preparation. For the rest, the closer bond of friendship and co-operation between worker and technician is a paramount necessity.

The taking over of the industries is therefore the first great object of the social revolution. It is to be accomplished by the proletariat, by the part of it organized and prepared for the task. Considerable numbers of workers are already beginning to realize the importance of this and to understand the task before them. But understanding what is necessary to be done is not sufficient. Learning how to do it is the next step. It is up to the organized working class to enter at once upon this preparatory work. (Alexander Berkman)



Ecology and the Left

A chapter from Defending the Earth - A dialogue between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman.

South End Press

Paul Molsaas:

Those of you who have been following and reading the Earth First! journal and Murray's writings, or who have attended a number of green conferences have understood that a strident, often harsh, debate has existed within the radical ecology movement for the past few years, a conflict in which both Murray and Dave have played a big part. It seems important to me that they're both here now on the same stage and that they have reached out to each other so strongly in their opening remarks. Perhaps now we can productively turn to a number of differences between them that have appeared in their previous talks and writings. Right now, I would choose just one difference to ask about—their differing views about the role to be played in the ecology movement by what I call, for lack of a better term, the left.

When I was out in Oregon, I had dinner one night with some Earth Firsters and this debate came up within that group. One of the women, Judi Bari, was from the East Coast originally, and comes out of a leftist tradition. When she went out to California, and ultimately to Oregon, she got involved in Earth First!

By looking at Earth First!'s organizing situation from a radical working-class perspective, she has come to understand that, if we reduce our consumption of trees, if we stop the exporting of logs to Japan and other Pacific Rim countries, and if we stop the cutting of old growth, we will create the necessity for rethinking workers and even a whole new kind of economy. According to Judi, this requires that Earth First! really address the questions of worker control and creating a decentralized forestry industry that works in a harmonious way with nature. It means thinking about people's jobs and being sensitive to workers' fears.

While listening to Judi, I noticed that another Earth First! organizer at the table basically had, it seemed to me, a sort of fog that went over his eyes when the dialogue started. In the course of the conversation, it was clear that he didn't understand or want to deal with the left tradition of the Wobblies or feel comfortable with all this talk about the working class. For him, the loggers were amoral, anthropocentric. They were just as much a part of the ecological problem as the logging companies.

So I ask both of you: does the leftist tradition have anything to offer the radical ecology movement? I know that Dave Foreman has said that the tradition of the radical left is basically a language, a way of thinking, and a way of acting that should be abandoned in order for us to move ahead. Murray, on the other hand, represents the populist, libertarian wing within the left tradition. He calls himself an eco-anarchist. He draws extensively on the left tradition and encourages others to do so as well. Recently, he helped found the Loft Green Network to be a self-conscious leftist voice within the broader green movement. What do either of you have to say to this question? "What is the value of the left tradition for the radical ecology movement?"

Dave Foreman:

Well, I have to admit that I come from a different tradition, a tradition that is actively hostile to the left. As I said, I started out campaigning for Barry Goldwater in 1964. This seemed pretty natural after growing up as an Air Force brat. I was also the chair of Young Americans for Freedom during the 1960s. For what it's worth, however, I was in the anarchist faction of YAF. We hated William F. Buckley, that smarmy little twit. Even back then, even when I was a nineteen-year-old YAF punk on the University I couldn't stand William F. Buckley. The guy just turned my stomach. Yet, at the time, I did buy into the big lie of the Cold War years that there was a global communist conspiracy out there that was threatening to destroy our freedom. The real appeal to me, though, was Goldwater's libertarian rhetoric. You would be surprised at the number of people I've known who worked for Goldwater as college students and have now become radicals.

The Vietnam War started me questioning my beliefs but I had not become questioning enough before I graduated from college in 1968. At that time, you either joined the military or you were drafted. So I joined the Marine Corps Officer Candidates School at Quantico. I was there at the same time Ollie North was. We never bumped into each other, however. I spent only sixty-one days in the Marine Corps. Thirty-one days were in solitary confinement in the brig.



Defending.....Forman answers.....

The Commandant of OCS at Quantico told me I was the worst officer candidate in Marine Corps history, which now seems like a pretty good compliment. The problem was that I found out very quick that there was nothing libertarian or Jeffersonian about the Marine Corps, or the people fighting the Vietnam War. After my discharge, I went back to New Mexico, to my father's great distress. He would have preferred I died in Vietnam rather than dishonor the family (though we have had a rapprochement since). I also became active with the anti-war movement at the University of New Mexico and made several speeches against CIA recruiting and the war. This was a fairly big coup for campus radicals, to have the former leading hawk on the UNM campus come back from the Marines and take the other side.

Since then, I have been in a not always comfortable dance with the left. I share a number of commitments with the left, yet, I come at my politics from a somewhat different direction. For years, my primary political and philosophical tradition has been the U.S. conservation movement. My heroes are Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Bob Marshall. For all the complaints about my ignorance about the left, a lot of leftists have never seriously grappled with the ideas of these people. Our traditions overlap, sure, but they are also different.

I come from the wide open spaces of New Mexico. I haven't come from the urban centers of the East where the left tradition is so much stronger than in the Southwest. The left tradition is not something I understand that well. Leftists often talk a little different language than me. That doesn't mean we have to fight; it just means we start out emphasizing different things.

I actually think we have a lot to learn from each other. I don't necessarily consider myself a leftist. I don't want to tar that movement with my association, for one thing. But I do have a great deal of sympathy for these movements and I continue to learn from my sometimes clumsy dance with the left.

When we formed Earth First! in 1980, we consciously tried to learn from the strategy and tactics of a number of left social movements. The Wobblies were certainly one group we were drawn to. I even published a Little Green songbook, taking after the Little Red songbook of the IWW. I've talked to Utah Phillips and some old Wobblies; I am really attracted to a lot of what they have to say.

In a place like Oregon, where we are seeing huge multinational corporations essentially practicing a policy of cutting and leaving, a good dose of leftist, anti-capitalist analysis can help us understand the situation. These companies, in their obsession for profit, don't give a damn about community stability or employment. They plan to leave in ten years after they have used up the Northwest forests. They have the capital to move somewhere where they can grow pine trees like corn in Iowa.

I totally agree that we need to get the big money out of the forests and make room for small worker-owned operations. I made such a proposal for the Pacific Northwest four or five years ago. My proposal was to prohibit any logging in the national forests except by small locally-owned companies, preferably worker-owned companies. Furthermore, the plan would have required a certain number of jobs per million board feet both in the woods and in the mills. Right now we are cutting as much timber from the national forests as ever, but the employment, the number of people doing that, is about half of what it used to be. And the reason is automation, be

cause the big companies can make more money that way.

Right now we are cutting something like eleven to twelve billion board feet of timber from the national forests every year, but the large timber companies are sending something like ten billion board feet of barely milled logs to Japan every year. In other words, nearly the entire output of the national forests is going unmilled, unprocessed to Japan. The companies are exporting jobs along with the trees. So, if you want to understand this situation, you need an analysis of multinational capitalism, an analysis of capital mobility and its effects on our communities.

One of my biggest complaints about the workers up in the Pacific Northwest is that most of them aren't "class conscious." That's a big problem. Too many workers blame environmentalists for costing them their jobs. But who is costing them their jobs? It's not the conservation movement to protect the old growth forest that is wiping out jobs in the Pacific Northwest, it's the greed of the multinationals.

We could easily have more employment, more community stability in the Pacific Northwest without cutting any more old-growth forest. But how do you get that across to a lot of workers who have bought into the mentality that the companies have put out for them: that the environmental movement is against them, and that if they're good, if they're obedient, if they resist us, everything will be fine?

The history of the Wobblies and other left-wing union movements undoubtedly has a lot to teach us about organizing with workers. On the other hand, I have some big problems with how the left tends to romanticize workers and only see them as victims. The loggers are victims of an unjust economic system, yes, but that should not absolve them for everything they do. It does not follow from the huge guilt of the capitalists that all workers are blameless for the destruction of the natural world. I think we need to face the fact that industrial workers, by and large, share some of the blame for the Earth's ongoing destruction.

I want workers to resist more, to become a lot more militant and not be such eager and willing slaves to the big companies or believe all of their propaganda all the time. Too many workers buy into the worldview of their masters that the Earth is a smorgasbord of resources for the taking. Indeed, sometimes it is the hardy swain, the sturdy yeoman from the bumpkin proletariat so celebrated in Wobbly lore who holds the most violent and destructive attitudes towards the natural world (and towards those who would defend it). I don't think it is wise to put the working class, or any oppressed group, on a pedestal and make them immune from questioning or criticism.

My biggest problem with the left, of course, is that it has so little appreciation for natural systems and for wilderness and wildlife. Our society, our civilization, has no divine mandate or right to pave, conquer, control, develop, use or exploit every square inch of this planet. At best, the left, if it pays any attention to ecology at all, does so in order to protect a watershed for downstream use by agriculture, industry, and homes. It does so to provide a good place to clean the cobwebs out of our minds after a long week in the auto factory or over the VDT. It does so because it preserves resource extraction options for future generations of humans or because some unknown plant living in the wild may hold a cure for cancer. It does so because nature is instrumentally valuable to human beings. The vast majority of leftists today are still unable to see the natural world as part of the circle of life that deserves direct moral consideration quite apart from any real or imagined instrumental value to human civilization.

Most leftists are for ecological goals such as preserving wilderness and biological diversity only to the extent that we can achieve such goals without negatively affecting the material "standard of living" of any group

of human beings. The Earth is always second, never first, in their thinking. This makes many leftists unreliable allies in ecological struggles. The simple fact is that what appears to be in the short-term interest of human beings as a whole--or a select group of human beings or of individual human beings--is sometimes detrimental to the short-term or long-term health of the biosphere (and often even to the actual long-term welfare of human beings). The left, to the extent that it refuses to push for human beings to adjust their way of life to be compatible with the planetary community of life, is part of the problem rather than part of the solution to the ecological crisis.

This is perhaps clearest in most of the left's refusal to admit that there is a human population crisis and that we need to lower human population over the long run. The left puts down all issues of resource scarcity to maldistribution and the venality of multinational corporations. There is much truth in this, of course. There is an unconscionable maldistribution of wealth and the basic necessities of life among human beings that must be overcome. However, even if the problem of equitable distribution was solved, the existence of five billion, seven billion, or eleven billion human beings converting the natural world into material goods and food puts the long-term sustainability of human society into question. Much of the left doesn't understand this simple ecological fact. Some do, of course. The greens have made the sustainability of human society the cornerstone of their political vision. Yet, from my perspective, this isn't enough. For me, the problem is not just to figure out how to level off human population at a level that can be biologically sustained at equitable levels of consumption. I believe that the ecological community is not just valuable for what it can provide human beings. Other beings, both animal and plant, and even so-called "inanimate" objects such as rivers, mountains, and wilderness habitats are inherently valuable and live for their own sake, not just for the convenience of the human species. If we are serious, then, about creating an ecological society, we will need to find humane ways to arrive at a global population level that is compatible with the flourishing of bears, tigers, elephants, rainforests, and other wilderness areas, as well as human beings.

This will undoubtedly require us to lower our current population level which, even if we succeed at overcoming poverty and maldistribution, would probably continue to devastate the native diversity of the biosphere which has been evolving for three and half billion years. I subscribe to the deep ecology principal that "the flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population and that the flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease." The left is a long way from incorporating this principle into its thinking. Until that time, the left will be a mixed blessing for the ecology movement, offering both insight and delusions.

I also see problems with much of the left's organizing style. Many radical activists are a dour, holier-than-thou, humorless lot. They also seem too hyper-rational at times. Don't get me wrong. Rationality is a fine and useful tool, but it is just that, a tool, one way of analyzing matters. Equally important is intuitive, instinctive awareness. We can often become more cognizant of ultimate truths sitting quietly in the wild than by sitting in libraries reading books. Reading books, engaging in logical discourse, compiling facts and figures, are necessary and important, but they are not the only ways to comprehend the world and our lives. Furthermore, there is also that old story about how the left forms a firing squad. They stand in a circle and shoot inward. I think that it's unfortunate that instead of fighting the George Bushes and the Exxon's, we so often find it easier to argue with people more down on our level and with whom we're more closely aligned.

At its best, Earth First!'s style offers a way forward that the left would be wise to learn from. We aren't rebelling against the system because we are sour on life. We're fighting for beauty, for life, for joy. We kickup our heels in delight at a wilderness day, we smile at a flower, at a humming

bird. We laugh. We laugh at our opponents---and we laugh at ourselves. We are willing to let our actions set the finer points of our philosophy rather than debating endlessly about our program. We are willing to get started now, to make mistakes, to learn as we go.

All in all, I think that what we need in the radical ecology movement is a healthier respect for diversity combined with the willingness to learn from all the different traditions that make up our movement. There is a basis for a common perspective big enough to house our various projects and emphases. I accept the fact that I've got a number of things to learn from the left. Yet, I also believe that the left has a few things to learn from me, Earth First!, and the wider conservation movement. Let's learn from each other.

Murray Bookchin.

Look, I was a leftist long before I was an ecologist. I was in the Young Communist League in 1934. I was part of the "International Communist Conspiracy" that used to scare Dave so much. And, I would add, not without some reason. Stalinism is a vicious ideology, and Leninism is not much better.

Like Dave, it was my personal concern with a terrible war that caused me to question my early political beliefs. The Vietnam War of my generation was the Spanish Civil War, or what I now prefer to call the Spanish Anarchist Revolution. We didn't know it at the time--the Communists presented the Spanish Civil War merely as a heroic struggle between a liberal, left-leaning democracy and a fascist military corps--but the reality of the situation, as I later found out, was that the effort by Spanish workers and peasants to answer Franco's military rebellion was perhaps the most widespread and profound anarchist revolution in history!

Few know this history even today. From 1936 to 1939, before Franco's ultimate victory, a system of workers' self-management was set up in numerous cities including Barcelona, Valencia, and Alcacia. Everywhere factories, utilities, transport facilities, even retail and wholesale enterprises, were taken over and administered by workers' committees and unions. The peasants of Andalusia, Aragon, and the Levant established communal systems of land tenure, in some cases abolishing the use of money for internal transactions, establishing free systems of production and distribution, and creating a decision-making procedure based on popular assemblies and direct, face-to-face democracy.

While we did not know the full extent of this revolution at the time, I, among others, began to discover that the Spanish Communist Party, under orders from Stalin, manipulatively used Soviet material support and sold out the Spanish people's struggle against the fascists because the Communists feared the revolutionary anarchist movement even more than a Franco victory. I won't weary you with the details, but many radicals of my generation saw, to our horror, that Stalinism was ultimately counter-revolutionary. For me, this meant becoming a Trotskyist for a short time. The Trotskyists were the only visible revolutionary left group in New York City that seemed to offer a serious challenge to Stalinism, at least as far I could see.

Ultimately, of course, I became an anarchist. I began to see in anarchism a whole new philosophy and strategy for revolution. Where Marxist revolutionaries focused so much on the factory and sought to "industrialize," and "proletarianize" peasants as a central part of their strategy, anarchism followed a very different path. In Spain, for example, it sought out the precapitalist communal

Defending....Murray's answer continued..

traditions of the village, nourished what was living and vital in it, developed its revolutionary potentialities for mutual aid and self-management, and encouraged it to counter the blind obedience, the hierarchical mentality, and the authoritarian outlook fostered by the industrial factory system.

This line of thinking led me pretty quickly to a leftism much more in keeping with the North American revolutionary tradition. Think for a moment what would have happened in this country if the town-meeting conception of democracy had been fostered as against the aristocratic proclivities for hierarchy; if political freedom had been given emphasis over laissez-faire economics; if individualism had become an ethical ideal instead of congealing into a sick proprietarian egotism; if the U.S. republic had been slowly reworked into a confederal democracy; if capital concentration had been inhibited by cooperatives and small worker-controlled enterprises; and if the middle classes had been joined to the working classes in a genuine peoples' movement such as the Populists tried to achieve. If this North American version of an anarchist society had supplanted the Euro-socialist vision of a nationalized, planned, and centralized economy and state, it would be hard to predict the innovative direction the American left might have taken.

It is this leftist, libertarian tradition that I urge the radical ecology movement to learn more about, to creatively draw inspiration from, and, of course, to build on. I believe, however, that even this tradition is not a sufficient guide for green politics. We still have to develop a truly ecological perspective. Dave is right about this. I couldn't agree more with him in this respect. We can no longer speak meaningfully of a "new," or "radical" society without also tailoring our social relationships, institutions, and technology to the larger eco-communities in which our social communities are located.

The most unbridgeable difference between social ecology and the traditional left is that the traditional left assumes, consciously or unconsciously, that the "domination of nature" is an objective, historical imperative. Following Marx, most leftists believe that the "domination of man by man" is, or at least was, a historically unavoidable evil that emerged directly out of the objective human need to "dominate nature. Liberals, social democrats, Marxists and not a few classical anarchists adopted our modern civilization's dominant view of the natural world as "blind," "mute," "cruel," "competitive," and "stingy." What disturbs me here is the very notion that humanity confronts a hostile "otherness" against which it must oppose its own powers of toil and guile before it can rise above the "realm of necessity" to a new "realm of freedom."

It is this view of nature that allowed Marx to write approvingly about capitalism as a progressive force in history. For Marx, capitalism was a progressive stage in history because it pushed human beings beyond the "deification" of nature and the self-sufficient satisfaction of existing needs which were confined within well-defined bounds. Capitalism, according to many people on the left today, whether they consciously think about it or not, is the historical precondition for human liberation. Let us make no mistake about it: Marx, like most add a deeper problem at the heart of our civilization—the existence of hierarchies and of a hierarchical mentality or culture that preceded the emergence of economic classes and exploitation. The early radical feminists in the 1970s who first raised the issue of patriarchy clearly understood this. We have much to learn from

feminism's and social ecology's anti-hierarchical perspective. We need to search into institutionalized systems of coercion, command, and obedience that exist today and which preceded the emergence of economic classes. Hierarchy is not necessarily economically motivated. We must look beyond economic forms of exploitation into cultural forms of domination that exist in the family, between generations, sexes, racial and ethnic groups, in all institutions of political, economic, and social management, and very significantly in the way we experience reality as a whole, including nature and non-human life-forms.

I believe that the color of radicalism today is not red, but green. I can even understand, given the ecological illiteracy of so much of the conventional left, why many green activists describe themselves as "neither left or right." Initially, I wanted to work with this slogan. I didn't know whether we were "in front," as this slogan contends, but I at least wanted to move on to something new, something barely anticipated by the conventional left, indeed, few have been as uncompromising in their criticism of the conventional socialist "paradigm" as I have been.

However, as time has passed, I have come to see that it is very important that we consciously develop a left green perspective. While the green movement is right to reject a mere variant of conventional left orthodoxy dressed up in a few new environmental metaphors, it is a huge mistake, I think, to fail to consciously draw on left libertarian and populist traditions, particularly eco-anarchism. When greens reject their affinity with these left traditions, they cut themselves off from an important source of insight, wisdom, and social experience.

Today, for example, the U.S. green movement cannot even bring itself to say with one voice that it is opposed to capitalism. Indeed, some locals of the U.S. Green Committees of Correspondence are made up of moderate Republicans and liberal Democrats who talk of "truly free markets," "green capitalism," and "green consumerism" as a sufficient means for controlling the policies of multinational corporations. They talk about running workshops for corporate managers to encourage them to adopt an ecologically sound business ethics. A left libertarian green perspective cuts through this shallow, reformist, and very naive thinking.

The radical left tradition is unequivocally anti-capitalist. A key lesson greens can learn from a left libertarian ecological perspective is that corporate capitalism is inherently anti-ecological. Sooner or later, a market economy whose very law of life is structured around competition and accumulation—a system based on the dictum "grow or die"—must of necessity tear down the planet, all moral and cultural factors aside. This problem is systemic, not just ethical. Multinational, corporate capitalism is a cancer in the biosphere, rapaciously undermining the work of eons of natural evolution and the bases for complex life-forms on this planet. The ecology movement will get nowhere if it doesn't directly face this fact. To its credit, Earth First! has done better than most ecology groups in understanding this point.

Furthermore, I believe that the lack of a well-developed, left libertarian green perspective has made too many people in the ecology and feminist movements vulnerable to a "counter-enlightenment" mood that is increasingly gaining ground in Western culture generally. While the growing denigration of the Enlightenment values of humanism, naturalism, reason, science, and technology is certainly understandable in light of how these human ideals have been warped by a cancerous patricentric, racist, capitalist, and bureaucratic society, their uncritical rejection of the Enlightenment's valid achievements ultimately ends up by throwing out the baby with the bath water.

That our society has warped the best Enlightenment ideals, reducing reason to a harsh industrial rationalism focused on efficiency rather than an ethically inspired intellectuality; that it uses science to quantify the world and divide thought against feeling; that it uses technology to exploit nature, including human nature, should not negate the value of the underlying Enlightenment ideals. We have much to learn from the solid organismic tradition in Western philosophy, beginning with Heraclitus, and running through the near-evolutionary dialectic of Aristotle, Diderot, and Hegel. We have much to learn from the profound eco-anarchistic analyses of Peter Kropotkin, and, yes, the radical economic insights of Karl Marx, the revolutionary humanist, anti-sexist views of Louise Michel and Emma Goldman, and the communitarian visions of Paul Goodman, E.A. Gutkind, and Lewis Mumford.

The new anti-Enlightenment mood, which declares all these thinkers irrelevant or worse, scares the hell out of me. It is potentially quite dangerous. Anti-rational, anti-humanist, supernatural, parochial, and atavistic moods are a frightening foundation on which to build a movement for a new society. Such perspectives can lead all too easily to the extremes of political fanaticism or a passive social quietism. They can easily become reactionary, cold, and cruel.

I saw this happen in the 1930s. That is why I say that eco-fascism is a real possibility within our movement today. That is why I have criticized several of the misanthropic statements that have been published in *Earth First!*—why I have denounced those few *Earth First!*ers who stand around campfires and chant "Down With Human Beings;" and why I have expressed dismay over the fact that extreme statements on AIDS, immigration, and famine by some *Earth First!*ers went unchallenged for so long by deep ecology philosophers such as George Sessions, Bill Devall, and Arne Naess. I agree with Dave that we should respect diversity within our movement, but we should not mistake diversity for outright contradiction. Such views are, at best, unnecessary and, at worst, counter-productive to very dangerous.

Is there really no role in our movement for a humanist ethics? Is there really no role for reason? Is there really no role for an ecologically sound technology that can meet basic material needs with a minimum of arduous toil, leaving people time and energy for direct democratic governance, an intimate social life, an appreciation of nature, and fulfilling cultural pursuits? Is there no role for natural science? Is there no role for an appreciation of a universal human interest? Is it really ecological to go around putting humanity down? Do we really have to replace naturalism with the new supernaturalisms that are now coming into vogue?

Certainly Dave is right that a sense of wonder and the marvelous have a major place beside the rational human spirit. However, let us not permit a celebration of these ways of experiencing the world to degenerate, as happens all too frequently these days, into anti-rationalism. Let us not allow the celebration of nature as an end-in-itself to degenerate into a misanthropic anti-humanism. Let us not permit an appreciation of the spiritual traditions of tribal peoples to degenerate into a reactionary, supernaturalist, anti-scientific, anti-technology perspective that calls for the complete "unmaking of civilization" and the valorization of hunting/gathering societies as the only legitimate way of life.

I appeal to all activists in the movement to stand up for naturalism and an expanded, ecological humanism. This is one of the most important lessons I've drawn from the left libertarian tradition out of which I come. If we are to create a free, ecological society, we will need to learn this lesson and oppose the

counter-Enlightenment that has gripped far too many of our would-be allies.

We need a resolute attempt to fully anchor ecological dislocations in social dislocations; to challenge the vested corporate and political interests we should properly call capitalism; to analyze, explore, and attack hierarchy as a reality, not only as a sensibility; to recognize the material needs of the poor and of Third-World people; to function politically, and not as a religious cult; to give the human species and the human mind their due in natural evolution, rather than regard them as "cancers" in the biosphere; to examine economies as well as "souls;" to develop a sound ecological ethic instead of getting sidetracked into scholastic arguments about the "rights" of pathogenic viruses. Indeed, unless the radical ecology movement integrates ecological concerns with the long-standing social concerns of the left libertarian tradition such as social ecologists have attempted to do, our movement will be co-opted....., or turned into something dismal and oppressive.

I am glad that Dave is now so willing to carefully pick through the litter of the centuries-long tradition of the radical left for useful insights and ideas. This is a worthwhile project, regardless of all the limitations and problems that are common on the left. My worry, however, is that Dave and other deep ecologist thinkers and activists will continue to eclectically borrow some of the specific programmatic proposals of the left libertarian tradition while ignoring or downplaying the underlying emancipatory, naturalistic, and humanistic logic of this tradition. Let's face it: specific proposals for decentralization, small-scale communities, local autonomy, mutual aid, and communalism, which deep ecology philosophers such as Sessions and Devall have borrowed from eco-anarchists like Peter Kropotkin and myself, are not intrinsically ecological or emancipatory. Such an outcome depends ultimately on the social and philosophical context in which we place such programs. Few societies were more decentralized than European feudalism, which was structured around small-scale communities, mutual aid, and the communal use of land. Yet few societies were more hierarchical and oppressive. The manorial economy of the Middle Ages placed a high premium on autarchy or "self-sufficiency" and spirituality. Yet, oppression was often intolerable and the great mass of people who belonged to that society lived in utter subjugation to their "betters" in the nobility,

A clear, creative, and reflective left green perspective can help us avoid this fate. It can provide a coherent philosophical framework or context that can avoid the moral insensitivity, racism, sexism, misanthropy, authoritarianism, and social illiteracy that has sometimes surfaced within deep ecology circles. It can also provide a coherent alternative to the traditional left's neglect of ecology or its more recent, purely utilitarian commitment to reformist environmentalism. I am convinced that we will need to "green the left and radicalize the greens" if we are going to effectively defend the Earth. That is why I think this dialogue is so important.



"History, then, in both senses of the word—meaning both the enquiry conducted by the historian and the facts of the past into which he enquires—is a social process, in which individuals are engaged as social beings; and the imaginary antithesis between society and the individual is no more than a red herring drawn across our path to confuse our thinking. The reciprocal process of interaction between the historian and his facts, what I have called the dialogue between present and past, is a dialogue not between abstract and isolated individuals, but between the society of today and the society of yesterday." Edward Carr *"What is History?"*

reprinted from IF THE GODS HAD MEANT US
TO VOTE THEY WOULD HAVE GIVEN US CANDI-

DATES

JIM HIGHTOWER

“GLOBALIZATION IS GLOBALONEY”

“Alice in Wonderland” almost killed me. I was but a small boy when my mother took my brother Jerry and me to the Rialto theater to see the animated film of this great story and I was quite taken by the many fantastical scenes, such as the fading Cheshire Cat with nothing left but the grin, and the regal blue caterpillar that smoked from the long flexible tube of a hookah, blowing smoke rings and saying to Alice in theatrically elongated phrasing: “Whoooo are yooooou?” I thought that caterpillar was hilarious, and I was still mimicking the “Whooo are yooooou?” routine when, after the movie and supper, Jerry and I were dispatched to take our bath and get ready for bed.

I was first in the tub, and, to my delight, I spotted my daddy’s electric razor cord. He kept it plugged into a socket on the light fixture above the sink, letting it dangle off to the side by the tub. It was handy for him, and I never thought a thing about it until that silly night, when it dawned on me how much it resembled the smoking tube of the caterpillar’s water pipe, I quickly had it in my hand, lying back and taking drags on it like the caterpillar did, and saying “Whoooo are yooooou?” NW thing I know my “smoking tube” had latched hold of my tongue like a rattlesnake locking on a horse’s leg. It was shooting electricity through my scrawny body, and I was screaming, thrashing about, ducking my head under water a time or two (which was real helpful), going every which way at once trying to get loose, but it stayed stuck. Luckily, I ricocheted off the wall at the back end of the tub and shot straight out onto the bathroom floor, knocking poor, horrified Jerry down and cracking his head on the toilet. With this, the cord popped loose from my electrified tongue and swung back to its usual place, innocently dangling there as though nothing had happened.

There’s another Alice-in-Wonderland adventure taking place today, and it is delivering a bigger shock to the hardworking people of the world than that razor cord did to me. “Globalization” is the moniker attached to it by its political, corporate, and financial architects, and, Oh, Golly, what a fantabulous concept or process or thing or whatever it is! Remember the late-night television ad touting Veg-O-Matic that could slice, dice, chop, peel, grate, puree, drive you to work, and pretty much do anything you needed done? Well, it was as nothing compared to the widely advertised glories of globalization, which we’re told again and again promise prosperity to all, has “democratizing action” built right in, cleans whiter than white, contains no saturated fat, has a thirty-two-valve V8 with a maximum torque of 290 ft./lbs., and is more thrilling than a trip to Disney World. For some, even the term “globalization” is inadequate to express the fullness of the blessings they believe to be inherent in this economic/technological/cultural phenomenon. Author Daniel Yergin, who seems.....

caught up in the fever of the phenomenon, wrote in *Newsweek* in 1999 of his “gnawing dissatisfaction with the word” and of his struggle to conceive something more apt. He explained that he was “trying to convey something else, something larger than business and economics, though encompassing both: something pointed more towards the new century. Not a process, but the results of a process—a place, a condition, the situation that comes afterwards.” Uh-huh. Whatever that means, he says he suddenly found the word he was seeking: globality. Rhymes with banality. ‘Globality popped into my head in the middle of the night,’ Yergin explained excitedly. Probably the work of that gorgonzola-and-sardine sandwich he had before retiring for the evening. ‘But what,’ Yergin finally asks, ‘is globality?’ He answers breathlessly: “It is the 24-hour interconnected, hyperactive world, in which sleep deprivation becomes endemic as one pounds out e-mails in time that should belong to deep sleep and alpha waves. It is the world symbolized by Amazon.com, which sold its first book less than four years ago and now has 6.2 million customers. It is a world where governments, as the finance minister of one of the world’s leading economies put it, have less leverage over their own economies. And where companies really do operate on a global basis increasingly, as Hewlett Packard CEO Lewis Platt put it, in “a 7-day, 24-hour work week where things are changing very rapidly.” Whew. He should save some of that breath for breathing.

Of course, globality is not in the dictionary. There is glob, globalize, globate, globigerina ooze, globoid, and globuliferous. But Bill Gates likes Yergin’s confection so much he wants it for Microsoft’s computerized dictionary. Now that’s globality: manufacture a word one day, and Bill Gates has it on your spell check the next. Is this a great globe we live on, or what?

THE HOLY HYPE. With all due respect to Mr. Yergin, I’ll stick for now with the old-fashioned “globalization” (which itself was coined only about a decade ago). However, to imbue the term with the awe that its devotees expect it to hold for us heathens who are the objects of their missionary zeal, it should always be written and pronounced as though God was speaking, as in “GLOBALIZATION!” Why not, since it is offered as a new utopian theocracy, with FREE TRADE as its inviolate precept? Reduced to its core, the holy dogma of globalization is as simple-minded as Ronald Reagan’s old Laffer-curve concept of trickle-down economics, only writ worldwide: just get the world’s governments the hell out of the way so the Great Stallions of Global Commerce can be unleashed, then, By Gipper, through their strength and cunning, these beasts will naturally generate wealth here, there, and everywhere—wealth that will ripple and trickle, eventually lifting all boats by their bootstraps, just as Adam Smith predicted when he wrote the *Horatio Alger* series, starring Mickey Rooney and Dolly Parton. Silly yet are the actual elements of the globalization agenda, which include these basic demands:

- Throw open the borders of all nations so that any corporation can control the market in any country for everything from auto sales to grocery shopping, from air travel to banking.
- Rewrite the rules of investments so that any corporation or speculator group can own the factories, farms, mines, banks, hospitals, and other essential resources of any and all countries.
- Delink trade and investment policies from any principled concerns over such matters as human rights, working conditions, impoverishment, ecological destruction, and totalitarian repression, having faith that “free trade” (the unrestrained movement of cor

porate power and money) must come first, and all else will follow.

- Do not allow any national, regional, state, or local government to impose any restrictions on any corporation's exercise of free trade, specifically including any attempt by governments to protect their workers, farmers, or environment from the ravages of free traders.
- Establish supreme tribunals through NAFTA, the World Trade Organization, and other supranational trade entities to protect the rights of corporations and speculators against infringements by individuals, groups, or governments.

You don't have to be the sharpest knife in the drawer to realize that this is insane. A reader could be excused for thinking, "This time, Hightower, you most certainly are pulling my leg, for no people would freely submit to such a preposterous grab for power, allowing the narrowest and minchiest segment of world society (corporate CEOs and global speculators) to reign supreme over all other interests! Indeed, we did not freely submit to this new global sovereignty for it never has been submitted to us—either as a demand from a conquering force or as a proposition for democratic debate and vote. Yet, there it is. In the pages to come are stories about how much of the dogma of globalization is already in place and having the most absurd consequences,

Meanwhile come the media, academic, and political apologists for this stealth coup, rationalizing it as both a secular blessing and the preordained march of history. Thomas Friedman, for example, the New York Times columnist who can't seem to stop his tail from wagging with delight whenever he gets within butt-sniffing distance of a member of the global elite, hails globalization as a "golden straightjacket" that prevents governments from interfering with business schemes, thus, he says, allowing people in even the most impoverished lands to park a Lexus in their garages. Never mind that most families in those lands make the equivalent of maybe \$350 a year and live in places smaller than it would take to park a Lexus, Friedman constantly pounds out columns and books extolling what he calls the 'globalution' of consumerism made possible by the "Electronic Herd" of speculators roaming the world and dumping cash on low-wage, high-return investments in any country with a welcome mat for unbridled greed.

In 1999, Friedman's Times colleague, Paul Lewis, brought the dialectic of history to the rationalization process, citing assorted academicians who maintain that global corporate rule is the next big step in the natural order of things: 'Once nation-states exercised absolute sovereignty over a clearly defined territory, 'bundling together,' " he wrote, noting that "no higher authority existed than the ruler of such a state, be it a king or a parliament. But no longer. Today, nation-states are being 'unbundled!'" With great enthusiasm, Lewis cited multinational corporations, global markets, and cyberspace as the great "unbundlers," adding that "increasingly nation-states are surrendering sovereignty by joining together in international organizations."

Oh? When did you vote to surrender your country's sovereignty to the WTO or any other international organization? Did either Bill Clinton or George Bush put this proposition to you in the '92 election? Did Clinton or Dole discuss it with you in '96? Did you hear Al Gore or George W. Bush put it on the Election 2000 agenda? In this past decade of surrendering sovereignty, did your member of Congress ever come talk to you about undoing what Jefferson-Adams-Washington-Madison-and-the-boys put together 200-odd years ago?

Lewis even lifts the march of globalization to the religious level, stating that while Christianity was the unifying belief for the Crusaders of the Middle Ages, "Free markets seem to be now," asserting, "Free markets are an almost universally accepted ideology." Gosh, Paul, you might

want to check that with the masses of folks in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, Russia, Mexico, Brazil, and other nations where turbocharged free-market speculators sucked the lifeblood out of their economies, then unleashed the autocrats of the IMF to impose draconian economic rules that put the burden of recovery on the backs of the very people who were left impoverished, while the speculators were bailed out with billions from the world's taxpayers. He might also want to check with some folks here at home, where six out of ten people say that the free-trade policies of the last decade have been bad for America—an opinion not based on trade theory but on the attention-riveting experience of losing hundreds of thousands of jobs, factories, whole industries, and even communities to the new Global Crusaders who are in holy pursuit of ever cheaper labor. God save any and all who are in their path.

Averting his eyes from such collateral damage, Lewis presses on, referring approvingly to the present period, in which the musty old concept of national sovereignty is being dumped on the ash heap of history. He calls the new century "neomedievalist," which he explains is a throwback to the Middle Ages "when the boundaries of kingdoms were often vague and subject to the fortunes of war and dynastic marriages." In today's delightfully retro medievalism, the "kingdoms" are corporate; the "wars" pit CEOs and shareholders against the world's workers, farmers, environment, and governments; the "boundaries" are whatever the various Star Chambers established by the WTO and NAFTA say they are; and the "dynastic marriages" are the global mergers consolidating corporate power into even fewer hands.

THE WIZARDS OF WASHINGTON

American humorist Don Marquis said, "An idea isn't responsible for the people who believe in it." So we mustn't blame poor little globalization for being puffed up so grandiosely by extollers like Friedman and Lewis when it's really not much of an idea at all—it's more of a rationalization, giving pseudointellectual and political cover to money and power as they stomp their way around the world. And the notion that "globalization" and "free trade" comprise an overarching belief system for the reordering of the world, apr6s the nation-state, gives new depth to the term "shallow." These two vacuous concepts embody no framework for a civil society—no Bill of Rights, no social contract, no ethos of fairness and justice, no religious and/or moral conscience, no nothing beyond the schoolyard bully saying, 'Gimme your lunch money, you 'Avinkie, or I'm gonna pulp your face into guacamole.'

Yet the dynastic duo of globalization and free trade is being religiously pushed from the highest pulpits of the land, as though they were inscribed on the stone tablets that Moses brought down from the mountain. From the bully pulpit of the Clinton presidency, from Bush's before him, and from the new incumbent of 2001 comes a steady stream of hosannas for the process and for the manna they say is being showered on us from Free Trade Heaven. Clinton was some combination of Elmer Gantry, the Music Man, and the Flimflam Man in trying to sell the concept. So desperate was he to legitimize his shameless fronting for Wall Street's global designs that he began a 1999 formal foreign policy address "with a little history," quoting from a previous president who was similarly enraptured by the glitter of world trade. It was William McKinley! A Democratic presi

Hightower continued....Globaloney...

dent has to be mighty hungry for political company to dig up the bones of 01' Bill McKinley, a notorious Republican whore of the Robber Barons, a rank imperialist, and a man described by Teddy Roosevelt as 'having no more backbone than a chocolate éclair.'

Clinton did a great deal more than talk, however-the candidate of '92 who railed against George Bush's corporate vision of "a New World Order" and against Bush's coddling of "the Butchers of Beijing," quickly hired on in '93 as Wall Street's coddler-in-chief and the general contractor for building the vision: He teamed up with congressional Republicans to ram NAFTA and the WTO into law and to gain privileged trade status for those same Butchers of Beijing; he has signed off on more than 270 separate trade deals; he engineered multibillion-dollar bailouts of speculators whose global gambles went sour in Asia, Latin America, and Russia; he used hundreds of millions of our tax dollars to underwrite the movement of U.S. factories and technology out of country; he extended NAFTA to Africa and to the Caribbean, and he dispatched cabinet members to join planeloads of corporate executives on trade missions throughout Asia so they could cut deals that shipped still more of America's manufacturing jobs into low-wage hellholes there.

All of this has been done without the approval of the American people, who consistently have opposed these "free trade" schemes for being the Wall Street scams they are. Occasionally, Clinton tried to gain public support by putting a little PR gloss on his overall globalization scam, but these staged events never seemed to get beyond their hokeyness to connect with ordinary folks, and sometimes the hype backfired on the hypers. In September of '98, he put the national spotlight on a policy-wonk forum convened by the New York University School of Law, ponderously titled "Strengthening Democracy in the Global Economy: An Opening Dialogue." The dialogue, rather pathetically, was between the globalization establishment and the globalization establishment -Bill and Hillary were there, England's Clinton clone Tony Blair was perkily present, Wall Street execs were prominently arrayed, media barons were there both to cover the confab and to participate, supportive professors were invited to puff their pipes and puff up the academic aura of the proceedings, and some 300 other members of the palace court were allowed inside. Not present were the people who actually are fighting for democracy in the antidemocratic global economy that this crowd has done so much to build. Nonetheless, the show went on, with some thirty television cameras and all the right newspapers covering it as though something real were happening.

Luckily, the iconoclastic Lewis Lapham, editor of Harper's magazine, wandered into this gathering of soft-headed and soft-handed establishmentarians and was there when the one discordant note of the day was hit. It went unreported, except later in Lapham's own column. Until the "incident," Lewis wrote, the proceedings were going according to script. He observed that the panelists were expert at the decorous, somnolent mouthing of all the approved conventional wisdoms of the moment, including the self-reassuring line that the recent untidiness in Asia, where the work of the global schemers in this very room had come spectacularly unglued, was not their fault or the fault of the scheme itself. No, no, no-it was the crude implementation of the scheme by Asia's own governmental leaders and bankers, don't you see-the problem was too much Cronyism, a lack of computerized data for sufficient market oversight, a problem with transparency, and so on ... and on, and on. Lapham likened the tone of the dialogue to "the murmur of contented bees."

But then Laura Tyson spoke up unexpectedly and out of turn. The

former head of Clinton's Council of Economic Advisors, she has now retreated to the security of academia, where she apparently has reclaimed her own voice. As Lapham describes the unusual moment, she "interrupted the discussion to observe that the heavy capital flows that had drowned the Asian economies didn't come from Asia. They came from Europe and the United States, from fully developed industrial countries well equipped with sufficient data and the instruments of democratic oversight. What we are talking about here, she said, is greed ... stupidity cowardice, and greed ... about investors in London and Paris and New York seizing the prey of easy profits and then, when the luck went bad, seeking to transfer their markers to a government ... about privatizing the gains, socializing the losses."

Wow! Wonder why that outburst didn't make the nightly news? Could it be because General Electric (which owns NBC), Westinghouse (which owns CBS), Disney (which owns ABC), NewsCorporation (which owns Fox), and Time Warner (which owns CNN) are all heavily into globalization schemes of their own and don't need any public questioning of the underlying correctness of the concept that their news networks have pushed as an absolute truth -especially criticism from an insider? Some questions answer themselves. Not only did the only newsworthy comment of the day fail to get a single second of airtime, it also failed to get a single response at this so-called dialogue. Lewis Lapham completes the story: 'The distinguished company didn't pursue Ms. Tyson's line of argument. A gentleman associated with Goldman Sachs coughed discreetly into his microphone, Hillary Clinton smiled at a television camera, two media hierarchs adjusted their ties, and the murmuring resumed.'

Last year, Clinton made one more try to sell globalization to the heathen masses. With his effort to win congressional approval for China's entry into the World Trade Organization coming a cropper, the president decided to go to the countryside. Well, he wasn't about to go out there personally, but he did dispatch Commerce Secretary William Daley to carry the message of globalization's glories into the hinterlands. The pitiable secretary was teamed up with CEOs from such jobkilling outfits as Boeing, AT&T, Merck, and Tenneco to launch a 'National Trade Education Tour,' which would travel by luxury motor coach on five different jaunts in and around Boston, Chicago, Louisville, the Carolinas, and Los Angeles, stopping at factories, schools, and cafés to talk with the "common folks of America" about joining in a "national consensus" for Clinton's trade policy. It was as absurd as a pack of coyotes going out to invite a flock of lambs to join them for supper.

The tour turned into a PR disaster, which could have been predicted, given the message and the corporate contingent he was hauling around. On all five trips, feisty groups of local protesters, led by the Citizens Trade Campaign, dogged Daley's deluxe bus in a yellow van with a huge sign warning: "Free Trade Fat Cats On Board." The receptions inside the scheduled events, which were supposed to be orchestrated for positive media coverage, were not much warmer. At Al Mac's Diner in Fall River, Massachusetts, the secretary and his traveling troupe of CEOs were cornered by clothing and textile workers from local mills, asking more hard questions than the big shots could answer. Also, in an example of sadistic scheduling, Daley and group found themselves in Racine, Wisconsin, for a tour of the Case tractor plant. The plan was to highlight happy workers making tractors for export in the global economy. However, it turns out that Case had recently been bought by New Holland, a Dutch equipment maker, which in turn is owned by Fiat, the Italian auto giant. The Case factory workers' sentiments about globalization were a lot less bullish than the official entourage had

hoped for, since the new foreign owners were talking of streamlining and outsourcing work-code words for downsizing. Would jobs be lost at this plant, the Case president was asked during Daley's stop. "There's always that possibility," he replied.

If the gods on high have ordained corporations and their financiers to assume global sovereignty, why does this sovereign need so many legislative fixes, subsidies, PR campaigns, and other heavy lifting from its earthly adherents to get to the throne? Maybe it's not such a natural and inevitable ascendancy after all, contrary to what the dogmatists tell us. Clinton Democrats are hardly alone in trying to engineer the "inevitability" of globalization -the congressional Republican leadership has been equally engaged in the heaving and hoing. One rarely gets to pull back the Wizard's curtain for a peek at the real force propelling the march of globalization, but the curtain did part slightly in the spring of 1998, thanks to an internal tussle between the House GOP leadership and corporate lobbyists. This little reported contretemps came in the waning days of the Age of Newt, when Newt Gingrich still was House speaker. He had fallen into a snit because he felt big-business lobbyists were slighting him and his party on campaign donations (lobbyists were giving much more to the GOP than to the Dems, but not enough more to satisfy the Napoleon of Marietta). Gingrich, whose daily output of ego could inflate the Goodyear blimp, was good at snits. His tactic in this case was not subtle-he halted any movement of the globalist's congressional agenda, which included getting Congress to put \$18 billion more of your and my money into the IMF for more bailouts of their failed speculations around the world, plus getting approval of a special legislative procedure called "fast track" that would allow more trade scams like NAFTA to be railroaded into law.

It didn't take long for the speaker's ploy to work. "The Business Round Table had a meeting with Newt yesterday," one of his top lieutenants told Roll Call, a Capitol Hill newspaper, "and he told them that fast track and the IMF would all be taken care of." Likewise, Myron Brilliant (I promise I do not make these names up) of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and also head of the "Ad Hoc Coalition for IMF Replenishment" (neither do I make up the preposterous names of their groups) said after the meeting with Newt that he was "cautiously optimistic" that the IMF money would move. To seal the deal, Newt cleverly announced it publicly a couple of days later at a Republican congressional fundraising dinner packed with corporate executives and lobbyists. "There was a huge roar in the room when he mentioned fast track," said an attendee, adding that "members who didn't favor fast track were surrounded by members of the business community who support them and were cheering and looking at them." It turned out to be the biggest fundraiser the congressional Republicans had ever had. And Mr. Brilliant did get his \$18 billion in bailout funds. Thus are sovereigns hoisted to their thrones-not by gods, but by the most mundane collusion of money and politics.

Particularly insidious and insulting to the larger public is the way that the corporate executives, their lobbyists, their politicians, and their other apologists frame the issue of globalization as one that pits those with the daring and compassion to be engaged in an interconnected world against the rest of us who are mouth-breathing, knuckle-dragging, xenophobic, isolationist cretins who would rather drink the blood of foreigners than have "foreign relations" with them. Bill Clinton is especially given to this rhetorical thrust and parry, picturing himself as Sir William of the Global Village with lance drawn against the infidel hordes of stony isolationism. In San Francisco last year before a selected audience, Sir William spaketh: "Some of the folks outside who were protesting when I drove up were saying by their signs that they believe globalization is inherently bad and there's no way in the wide world to put a human face on the global economy."

Horsedooties. I know some of the people and groups that were protesting outside (which is where ordinary folks have been relegated by this administration) against the sheer elitism and human destructiveness of his brand of globalism-a brand that has the money powers of our country making backroom financial and business arrangements with the totalitarian thugs who rule China, the forty families of Mexico, the corporate oligarchy of South Korea, and the thieving entrepreneurial mafia of Russia, among others. He wants us to salute that? I know Medea Benjamin at Global Exchange, Charlie Kernaghan at the National Labor Committee, Harry Wu at Laogai Research Foundation, Randall Robinson at TransAfrica, and so many other true American internationalists who know more and care more about the 'human face' of the global economy than an aloof, pampered, cynical, and glib Bill Clinton can ever imagine. What an ass! These are people on the front lines where his globalism is not a market theory but a brutish reality. They are working directly with the human faces trapped in the global sweatshops of Nike, Disney, the Gap, and so many other brand names, while Clinton hobnobs in luxury with the global rulers and corporatists who literally are smashing those faces he uses so freely as rhetorical props. This, not Monica Lewinsky's face, is why I find Clinton such a despicable president and such a pitiful excuse for a Democrat.

In The Wizard of Oz, when Dorothy, the Lion, the Tin Man, and the Scarecrow learn that the Wizard is just a little man who has been bamboozling everyone, Dorothy angrily says to him: "I think you are a very bad man." Shamefaced, he replies, "Oh, no, I am really a very good man, but I will admit that I am a very bad Wizard." Clinton certainly is a very bad Wizard, but he's not at all a good man, either.



Jim Hightower also has a monthly newsletter and daily radio address. He was syndicated nationally on mainstream stations until Disney bought ABC and kicked him off the air. He is also the author of THERE'S NOTHING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD BUT YELLOW STRIPES AND DEAD ARMADILLOS. Look to www.jimhightower.com for stations playing his bits... and weekly columns.....



"The second observation is that the necessity to establish these basic facts rests not on any quality in the facts themselves, but on an a priori decision of the historian. In spite of C. P. Scott's motto, every journalist knows today that the most effective way to influence opinion is by the selection and arrangement of the appropriate facts. It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. It was, I think, one of Pirandello's characters who said that a fact is like a sack--it won't stand up till you've put something in it." Edward Carr. 1961 "What is History?"

August 2001

THE GENOA PROTESTS

Democracy at the barricades

Heads of state were besieged in July in Genoa. They talked trade and money inside a guarded, if luxurious, compound, while outside the Italian carabinieri confronted demonstrators, only a few of whom were violent. Results: news footage of handshakes and governmental agreements, their details already forgotten - and of an unwarranted death, 600 injuries, beatings and frustration. The next talks will be in the safe enclave of Qatar.

by SUSAN GEORGE *

After the disgrace of Genoa, multinationals and European and international institutions targeted by "anti-globalisers" have a recurrent problem: how to discredit, weaken, manipulate and, if possible, annihilate the international citizens' movement which has disturbed the gatherings of the masters of the universe since Seattle. Police retaliation and direct repression are the most obvious weapons in the anti-anti-globaliser armoury. This April spring in Quebec smelled of tear gas: the official figure for the number of canisters fired against anti-FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas) [1] demonstrators was 4,707 - "excessive" according to a committee set up by the government of Quebec [2]. Asked by doctors about chemical components and propulsion agents, the authorities professed ignorance: "We only do testing in terms of how effective the gas is on people" [3]. In Europe, too, the use of force and manipulation has reached new extremes. In Gothenburg, during the demonstrations at the summit meeting of heads of state and government of the European Union in June, the Swedish police used live ammunition. In Barcelona, on 22 June, where forums and demonstrations went ahead although the World Bank had retreated from holding its new economics conference, plain clothes police infiltrated the end of the march, vandalized property and attacked uniformed officers to provoke them into violent reprisals against demonstrators and journalists.

In Genoa, the Italian police went further: one dead, more than 600 injured, hundreds of arbitrary arrests and a real political plot. There is evidence of complicity between the authorities and gangs of Black Block agents provocateurs that damaged parts of the city [4].

But force seems to have little effect, so the authorities are resorting to legal harassment. A leading member of the Ruckus Society [5], known for its training sessions in non-violence to prepare for occasions like Seattle, was picked up on the streets of Philadelphia the day after demonstrations at the Republican Party convention. He was questioned for six hours by an officer who cheerfully ad-

mitted that he had orders to "dump a bunch of shit on his booking papers" [6], indicted on 13 counts and (unprecedented for such minor offences) required to put up bail of \$ 1m.

Wrongful arrest, intimidation and ill-treatment of detainees, and closing meetings "as a preventive measure", are common wherever opponents of globalisation meet. For evidence, visit one of the independent, decentralised Indymedia websites [7] that are causing headaches in Washington. On the day of the big demonstration in Quebec, FBI and US secret service agents appeared at the Indymedia office in Seattle with court orders requiring it to disclose the names and email addresses of everyone who had visited the site in the previous 48 hours - several thousand people. This was in flagrant breach of rights guaranteed under the US constitution [8]. In Genoa, on the night of 21-22 July, carabinieri raided the alternative media centre without a warrant, beat and arrested people, and claimed they were looking for evidence of infiltration by "rioters".

In Europe too, governments have no compunction about taking liberties with the law. In December 2000 an attempt was made to reduce the scale of the demonstrations against liberal policies pursued by the EU. At a European Council meeting in Nice, 1,500 Italian nationals were held at the Franco-Italian border although they had valid tickets and passports. In January 2001 Swiss authorities blocked all access roads to Davos, transforming the region into a military stronghold. The Italian government suspended the Schengen agreement for four days in a vain attempt to prevent demonstrators from other countries congregating in Genoa.

The backlash

There is a serious ideological backlash, too. How can the powers regroup after a fiasco like Seattle? The first ploy is to accuse opponents of being "enemies of the poor", a ploy used by London's Financial Times and The Economist, and by Mike Moore, director-general of the World Trade Organisation, who said in Geneva "these protesters make me want to vomit". Paul Krugman, economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and media darling, added: "The anti-globalisation movement already has a remarkable track record of hurting the very people and causes it claims to champion." Of the demonstrators in Geneva, he said: "Whatever their intentions, they were doing their best to make the poor even poorer" [9]. The theme was taken up on the eve of Genoa by President George W Bush, in a statement to Le Monde: "The demonstrators are condemning people to poverty". In its first issue after Seattle, The Economist tried a second argument. Faced with the success of the NGOs, it claimed that they "represented a dangerous shift of power to unelected and unaccountable special interest groups". The alleged lack of legitimacy of the "anti-globalisers" has been a constant complaint in business circles since the publication of the Geneva Business Declaration in September 1998, an outcome of a dialogue organised by Helmut Maucher, then president of the International Chamber of Commerce (also chairman and managing director of Nestlé and president of the Round Table of

European industrialists) and the UN secretary-general.

The declaration said that: "Activist pressure groups should place emphasis on legitimising themselves. Where this does not happen, rules establishing their rights and responsibilities should be considered. Business is accustomed to working with trade unions, consumer organisations and other representative groups that are responsible, credible, transparent and accountable, and consequently command respect. What we question is the proliferation of activist groups that do not accept these self-disciplinary criteria."

The third ploy is to repeat that the protesters don't know what they are talking about, to label them and their organisations "opportunistic" or "alarmist". Their ideas and opinions are described as "disinformation", "blatant lies" and "nonsense". Thomas Friedman of the New York Times says opponents of neo-liberalism are "despicable [and] deserve a slap in the face" [10]. The Financial Times, mildly threatening, says that if the advance of globalisation's foes is to be halted, "now is the time to draw a line in the sand" [11]. But what happens if the "self-discipline" is not forthcoming, if no-one takes any notice of the "line in the sand" and the opposition continues to "talk nonsense"? A great many people are considering this.



In the middle of the desert

In March 2000 the Cordell Hull Institute in Washington [12], a pro-free-trade think-tank, ran a seminar "After Seattle: restoring momentum in the WTO". Of the 50 participants - senior civil servants, ministers, advisers to big firms, ambassadors - only two represented NGOs. One, scandalized by the proceedings, posted an account of them on the internet [13]. The meeting had been less concerned with the WTO than with finding ways to silence the opposition. Cecil Parkinson, who had been British minister for trade in the cabinet of Margaret Thatcher, began by saying they must never have another WTO meeting on US soil as it was far too easy to organise protests there. Clayton Yeutter, former US secretary of agriculture, agreed. They should choose a place where "security could be assured" and give little advance notice to "keep the protesters off balance".

The Brazilian foreign minister favoured holding the next meeting "in the middle of the desert" - more or less what will happen in November when the WTO conference meets in Qatar - or "on a cruise ship". In fact, the G8 summit in 2002 will be held in a nearly inaccessible place in the Canadian Rockies. To general applause, he then passionately defended child labour: children in Brazil helped their families by earning a few reales hauling bags of coal from depot to steelworks. A senior US civil servant suggested they should "give the NGOs some other sandbox to play in": they could be told to take their concerns to the International Labour Organisation, which has no powers. Another senior US civil servant, keen to "delegitimise the NGOs", suggested persuading the foundations that fund them to turn off the tap. That would

force them to back down. And whatever the real reasons, the most important American foundations are changing their approach. According to reliable sources - who prefer to remain anonymous - think-tanks and organisations opposed to globalisation are beginning to be denied resources. Also, and unusually, the presidents of major foundations are personally monitoring allocations of funds by their programme managers in cases where, in the past, they have funded groups in the Seattle constellation. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations now favour think-tanks like the Economic Strategy Institute, whose president is a former adviser to Ronald Reagan and whose list of donors reads like a Who's Who of US transnational corporations [14].

Electronic surveillance is another powerful business weapon. The eWatch company [15], illustrates capitalism's ability to profit from anything, including the activities of those who question its supremacy. This subsidiary of a public relations company offers to monitor everything on the net about its corporate subscribers, checking not only the media, but also a database of 15,000 online public discussion groups and 40,000 newsgroups. For an annual fee of \$3,600-\$16,200, "you can monitor the competition, government regulators, activists, opposition groups, and anything else that impacts your business". Cheap at the price. Such tactics are not expected. And maybe they prove that the opponents of corporate-led globalisation are making a real impact - why otherwise would the masters of the universe bother with them?

But that is to underestimate the importance international capital attaches to this battle. Its hatred of democracy has never been so clearly displayed. It must, by fair means or foul, establish the legitimacy of its domination before any more shocks. (From this point of view, the elections of Bush and of Silvio Berlusconi are heaven-sent.) Social movements have to watch their step now, especially since Genoa. They are entering a minefield.

[1] See "Chasing the holy grail of free trade", *Le Monde diplomatique* English edition, April 2001

[2] Toronto Star, 3 May 2001, quoting official sources. [3] Quoted by Cathy Walker, national health and safety director of the Canadian automobile workers' union, in *Now Magazine*, Toronto, 17-23 May 2001. [4] A churchman, Don Vitallano Della Sala, reports having seen Black Block members emerging from a police van (*La Repubblica*, 22 July 2001, *Le Monde*, 24 July 2001). [5] See Bruno Basini "Avec les maquisards anti-mondialisation", *L'Expansion*, Paris, 7 June 2001. [6] Personal statement by John Sellers. [7] www.france.indymedia.org and www.indymedia.org. [8] Communiqué issued by the Seattle Independent Media Centre, 27 April 2001. [9] Paul Krugman, "Why sentimental anti-globalisers have it wrong", *International Herald Tribune*, 23 April 2001. [10] *New York Times*, 19 April 2000. [11] *Financial Times*, 19 April 2001. [12] The Cordell Hull Institute is one of the American partners of the Institut français de relations internationales (Ifri). [13] Bruce Silverglade, Centre for Science in the Public Interest, "How the International Trade Establishment Plans to Defeat Attempts to Reform the WTO", electronic message, 5 April 2000.

[14] See www.econstrat.org, in particular announcements of Rockefeller and Ford Foundation grants for studies on international trade. [15] eWatch, based in Dallas, is a subsidiary of PR Newswire: www.ewatch.com * Vice-chairman of Attac France, author of *Rapport Lugano*, Fayard, Paris, 2000, and *Remettre l'OMC à sa place*, Mille et Une Nuits, Paris, 2001. Translated by Barbara Wilson

LOSING THE WAR ON CLICHE

The following paragraph is composed of sentences from editorials written by Thomas L. Friedman for the New York Times last summer. The statements were compiled by Tamar Adler, a freelance writer living in New York City.

And now for a wild prediction. Real men drill wells. Don't know if they're right, but you gotta root for them. Deep down they all know it and they admit it to each other in private. You have to admire it. Because they are anything but crazy. Normally I wouldn't mind. But perfect isn't on the menu anymore. Think about it. This is dangerous. No really. It's pathetic when you think about it but also sad. Yes, yes, yes. No, no, no. Woo, Woo, Woo. That's embarrassing. Gotta tell you, it's the damnest thing I've ever seen. But you have to love this figure. It's kind of a two-for-one deal. A plus B equals C, but what will C be? Or does he know that I know that he knows? Say what? You guessed it, Not a bad deal. But guess what? There is a wall. Several actually. And that's the drama. But hopeless? Stay tuned. This is going to get interesting.



The main designer, furthermore, was an astute political thinker: James Madison, whose views largely prevailed. In the debates on the Constitution, Madison pointed out that if elections in England "were open to all classes of people, the property of landed proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place," giving land to the landless. The Constitutional system must be designed to prevent such injustice and "secure the permanent interests of the country," which are property rights.The primary responsibility of government is "to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority," Madison declared.

.... The political spectrum in the United States, always very narrow, has been reduced to near invisibility. A few months after Bill Clinton took office, the lead story in the Wall Street Journal expressed its pleasure that "on issue after issue, Mr. Clinton and his administration come down on the same side as corporate America," eliciting cheers from heads of major corporations, who were delighted that "we're getting along much better with this administration than we did with previous ones," as one put it.---Noam Chomsky Profit Over People Seven Stories Press



VICTORY!

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH Are No Friends of Ours....

Excerpts Transcript: THE MCLAUGHLIN GROUP HOST: JOHN MCLAUGHLIN JOINED BY: MICHAEL BARONE, BRENT BLACKWELDER (Friends of the Earth), DEBRA CALLAHAN, AND KAREN KERRIGAN TAPED: AUGUST 2001 BROADCAST: WEEKEND OF SEPTEMBER 1-2, 2001

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Do you think that the exaggerated that the world hangs in the balance gives a special intensity to the eco-terrorists? They feel unless they take some action, some species might be destroyed, and therefore they become irrational. Is that part of why it has morphed into this kind of radicalism, Brent?

MR. BLACKWELDER: No, I think what you have is a few groups that are very fringe groups and not mainstream engaged in acts of violence and so forth. **But Friends of the Earth disassociates** **ourselves** with that, and in fact we do not —

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: That's your organization?

MR. BLACKWELDER: Yes. And we did not participate in the Genoa meeting because while we had important points to stress, we felt that the anarchists were going to take over. [WHOOOA! He's serious???? -ed] **And the anarchists have hijacked the right of peaceful protest**, which I think is a fundamental free-speech right we cherish. And we are in danger of losing it if that kind of activity persists.

MS. KERRIGAN: So I think it's going to continue to increase. But I think you could separate the anger of these radical individuals from just people who want a clean environment. [that is, you cannot be angry and radical if you want a clean environment!-ed]

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: And oddly, when they're engaged by counterforce, as they are through police and other forms of law enforcement, they seem to gain more psychological momentum..... Will eco-terrorism turn deadly? Will it get worse, do you think, Michael Barone?

MR. BARONE: I fear it will get worse. I think particularly these animal rights people who are a real menace in Britain and other parts of Europe, these violent people — I think it is going to get worse.

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Karen, will it turn deadly? [that is, death of protestors does not matter-ed]

MS. KERRIGAN: Oh, I think it will, unless the mainstream environmental groups and policy leaders continue to — and very vocally, on an ongoing basis, repudiate these types of actions to separate from them. I think this could mar mainstream environmental groups.

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Now there was one loss of life over in Genoa.

MR. BLACKWELDER: **Yes, but that probably was an anarchist. And governments have to move forward to deal with anarchists and violent perpetrators**, but they've also got to step up to the plate to preserve space for peaceful protest. That is a tradition of free speech in the United States that has greatly benefited our democracy. And so we stand in danger of losing it as a result of the violence, which we at Friends of the Earth and, I think, most major environmental groups absolutely abhor. [AHH saying the go'vt should crack down on radicals to 'protect free speech!...and a dead "anarchist"... so what eh?.....amazing logic-ed]

— — — Send friendly hellos to Blackwelder at "Friends of the Earth" at foe@foe.org

SEATTLE WTO PROTEST DIARY

By Jeffrey St. Clair

REPRINTED FROM COUNTERPUNCH Dec 16th 1999 issue

Seattle has always struck me as a suspiciously clean city, manifesting a tidiness that verges on the compulsive. It is the Singapore of the United States: spit-polished, glossy, and eerily beautiful. Indeed, there is, perhaps, no more scenic setting for a city set next to Elliot Bay on Puget Sound, with the serrated tips of the Olympic Mountains on the western skyline and hulking over it all the cool blue hump of Mt. Rainier. But Seattle is also a city that hides its past in the underground. It is literally built on layers of engineered muck, like a soggy lilyum. The new opulence brought by the likes of Microsoft, Boeing, Starbucks and REI is neatly segregated from the old economic engines, at is both uptight and laid back, a city of deeply repressed desires and rages. It was the best and the worst of places to convene the WTO, that Star Chamber for global capitalists. On this week Seattle was so tightly wound that it primed to crack. The city, which practiced drills to prepare itself against possible biological or chemical warfare by WTO opponents, was about to witness its own police department gas its streets and neighborhoods. By the end of the week, much of Seattle's shiny veneer had been scratched off, the WTO talks had collapsed in futility and acrimony and a new multinational popular resistance had blackened the eyes of global capitalism and its shock troops, if only for a few raucous days and nights.

Sunday

I arrived in Seattle at dusk and settled into the King's Inn, my ratty hotel on Fifth Avenue two blocks up from the ugly Doric column of the Westin, the HQ of the US trade delegation and on Tuesday and Wednesday nights the high-rise hovel of Bill Clinton. On the drive up from Portland, I had decided to forego the press briefings, NGO policy sessions and staged debates slated at dozens of venues around Seattle. Instead, I was determined to pitch my tent with the activists who had vowed in January to shut down Seattle during WTO week. After all, the plan seemed remotely possible. The city with its overburdened streets and constricted geography does half the job itself. And, in an act of self-interested solidarity, the cabbies, who held festering grudges against the city on a variety of claims, had just announced plans to time a taxi strike to coincide with the protest.

Around 10 PM, I wandered down to the Speakeasy Café, in the Belltown District, which I'd heard was to be a staging area for grassroots greens. On this warm late November night, there were stars in the Seattle sky, surely a once a decade experience. I took it as an omen. But I was clueless as to its portent. The Speakeasy is a fully-wired redoubt for radicals: it serves beer, herbal tea, veggie dishes and, for a \$10 fee, access to a bank of computers where dozens of people checked their email and the latest news, from Le Monde to the BBC, from WTOwatch.com to the New York Times. I ran into Kirk Murphy, a doctor who teaches at the UCLA medical school. I'd gotten to know

Murphy slightly during the great battles to fight DreamWorks and its ill-fated plan to bury the Ballona Wetlands in Los Angeles under acres of concrete, glass and steel. The doctor was wearing an Earth First! t-shirt and drinking a Black Butte Porter, the microbrew of choice for the radical environmental movement. Dr. Murphy knows a lot about treating victims of police brutality and he had prepared a handbook for protesters on how to deal with tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets and concussions. Hundreds of copies had been printed and would be passed out to volunteer medics and protesters before the big march on Tuesday.

"Do you think it will come to that?" I asked.

"Well, I hope not," Murphy said. "But if it doesn't, we probably won't have accomplished much, eh?"

Murphy told me that the direct action crowd was assembled at a warehouse on East Denny, up toward Seattle Community College. It was a 20-minute walk and I arrived at midnight to a scene of controlled chaos. The Denny Street warehouse was far more than a meeting place; it was part factory, part barracks, part command and control center. Later on it would become an infirmary. Inside affinity groups were planning their separate direct actions; others were constructing giant street puppets, bearing the likeness of corporate titans and politicians, such as Clinton and Charles Hurwitz; and another group, led by Earth Firsters from Eugene, were constructing what one referred to as the Trojan Horse, a twenty foot-tall, armored siege tower on wheels, capable of holding 14 people. It was meant to be rolled up near the convention center, allowing the people inside to climb out a hatch in the roof and scale over the Metro buses, which the security forces had parked as barricades near the building. I knew the chief architect of this creation and asked him if he wasn't wasting time and money on such an easy target, like Saddam Hussein had done with his giant, billion dollar cannon destroyed in the first air strike of the Gulf War. "Just wait," he said, a spark of mischief in his eye.

Monday

And the revolution will be started by sea turtles. At noon about 2,000 people massed at the United Methodist Church, the HQ of the grassroots NGOs, for a march to the convention center. It was environment day and the Earth Island Institute had prepared more than 500 sea turtle costumes for marchers to wear. The sea turtle became the prime symbol of the WTO's threats to environmental laws, when the WTO tribunal ruled that the US Endangered Species Act, which requires shrimp to be caught with turtle excluder devices, was an unfair trade barrier. But the environmentalists weren't the only ones on the street Monday morning. In the first showing of a new solidarity, labor union members from the Steelworkers and the Longshoremen showed up to join the march. In fact, Steelworker Don Kegley, led the march, along side environmentalist Ben White. (White was later clubbed in the back of the head by a young man who was apparently angry that he couldn't complete his Christmas shopping. The police pulled the youth away from White, but the man wasn't arrested. And White played later down the incident.) The throng of sea turtles and blue-jacked union folk took off to the rhythm of a chant that would echo down the streets of Seattle for days: "The people united will never be divided!"

I walked next to Brad Spann, a burly Longshoreman from Tacoma, who held up one of my favorite signs of the entire week: "Teamsters and Turtles Together At Last!" Brad winked at me and said, "What the hell do you think old Hoffa thinks of that?" The march, which was too fast and courteous for my taste, was escorted by motorcycle police and ended essentially in a cage, a fenced in area next to a construction site near the convention center. A small stage had been erected there hours earlier and Carl Pope, the director of the Sierra Club, was called forth to give the

opening speech. I'd never met Carl Pope before and was surprised by what I encountered. He is a tiny man, with a shrill and squeaky voice, who affects the look and hair-flipping mannerisms of RFK circa 1968. Nearing 90, Dave Brower still has the look of a mountain climber, Pope looks like the only climbing he does is on a StairMaster. I couldn't follow much of what Pope had to say, except that he failed to utter the names of Clinton or Gore. The speech was delivered with a smugness that most of the labor people must have heard as confirmation of their worst fears about the true nature of environmentalists in suits. Standing near the stage I saw Brent Blackwelder, the head of Friends of the Earth. Behind his glasses and somewhat shambling manner, Blackwelder looks ever so professorial. And he is by far the smartest of the environmental CEOs. But he is also the most radical politically, the most willing to challenge the tired complacency of his fellow green executives. I told him: "Brent, you're the Chomsky of the environmental movement." He chuckled, evidently pleased at the comparison.... [Of course Jeff now knows better about Blackwelder, after his hideous, twisting of fact post-Genoa, calling for governments to crack down on anarchists in the name of free speech! See Friends of the Earth this issue-ed]

After the speechifying most of the marchers headed back to the church. But a contingent of about 200 ended up in front of McDonald's where a group of French farmers had mustered to denounce US policy on biotech foods. Their leader was Jose Bove, a sheep farmer from Millau in southwest France and a leader of confederation Paysanne, French environmental group. In August, Bove had been jailed in France for leading a raid on a McDonald's restaurant under construction in Larzac. At the time, Bove was awaiting trial on charges that he destroyed a cache of Novartis' genetically-engineered corn. Bove said his raid on the Larzac McDonald's was in response to the US's decision to impose a heavy tariff on Roquefort cheese in retaliation for the European Union's refusal to import American hormone-treated beef. Bove's act of defiance earned him the praise of Jacques Chirac and Friends of the Earth. Bove said he was prepared to start a militant worldwide campaign against "Frankenstein" foods. "These actions will only stop when this mad logic comes to a halt," said Bove. "I don't demand clemency but justice." Bove showed up at the Seattle McDonald's with rounds of Roquefort cheese, which he handed out to the crowd. After a rousing speech against the evils of Monsanto, and its bovine growth hormone and Round-Up Ready soybeans, the crowd stormed the McDonald's, breaking its windows and urging the customers and workers to join the marchers on the streets. This was the first shot in the battle for Seattle. Moments later the block was surrounded by Seattle police, attired in full riot gear. Many of them arrived on armored personal carriers, a black military truck referred to affectionately by the TV anchors on the nightly news as "the Peacekeeper." But this time cops held their distance, merely making sure that no one had been injured. They cordoned off the block until the crowd dispersed on its own in about an hour. At this point, there was still lightness in the air. A big Samoan cop cracked a smile as a protester waved a hunk of stinky cheese in front of his face. I returned to my hotel early that night. Too exhilarated and exhausted to sleep, I fell back on the bed and flipped on the television. A newscaster was interviewing Michael Moore, the pudgy-faced director of the WTO. "I've always been on the side of the little guy," Moore proclaimed.

Tuesday

Less than 12 hours later, Seattle was under civic emergency, a step away from martial law. National Guard helicopters hovered over downtown, sweeping the city with searchlights. A 7 PM curfew had been imposed and was being flouted by thousands-those same thousands who captured the streets, sustained clouds of tears gas, volleys of rubber bullets, concussion grenades, high powered bean cannons and straightforward beatings with riot batons. The bravery of the street warriors had its tremendous triumph: they held the streets long enough to force the WTO to cancel their opening day. This had been the stated objective of the direct action strategists, and they attained it.

At dawn of Tuesday the predicted scenario was somewhat different. There was to be the great march of organized labor, led by the panjandrum of the AFL-CIO, with James Hoffa Jr. in a starring role. Labor's legions-a predicted 50,000-were to march from the Space Needle to the Convention Center and peacefully prevent the WTO delegates from assembling. It never happened. Instead the labor chiefs talked tough but accepted a cheap deal. They would get a Wednesday meeting with Bill Clinton, with the promise that at future such WTO conclaves they would get "a seat at the table". So instead of joining the throngs bent on shutting down the opening of the WTO, the big labor rally took place at noon around the Space Needle, some fifteen to twenty blocks from the convention center where the protesters on the front lines were taking their stand. When the labor march finally got it under way around 1 PM, it's marshals directed most of the marchers away from the battle zones down by the convention center.

For the direct action folks, the morning began in the pre-dawn hours, in a steady rain. More than 2,000 people assembled in Victor Steinbrueck Park, on the waterfront north of Pike's Place market. Once again, steelworkers and Earth Firsters led the way, carrying a banner with the image of a redwood tree and a spotted owl. The march featured giant puppets, hundreds of signs, the ubiquitous sea turtles, singing, chanting and an ominous drumming.

As the sky finally lightened, I found myself next to a group of black men and women trailing a white van. They turned out to be one of the more creative groups in the march, a collection of hip-hop artists from across the country. The van, dubbed the Rap Wagon, carried a powerful sound system capable of rocking the streets. The rappers were led by Chuckie E from New York, who improvised a rap called "TKO the WTO." Walking with me as up Pine Street to the Roosevelt Hotel was an 18-year old from South Central LA named Thomas. I asked him why he was here. "I like turtles and I hate that fucker Bill Gates," he said. Thomas and I held hands, forming a human chain at the intersection of 7th and Pine, intent on keeping the WTO delegates from reaching their meetings. A British delegate was prevented from entering the convention center after he left the Roosevelt Hotel. He tried to bust through the human chain and was repulsed. Angered, he slugged one of the protesters in the chest and ran down the block toward where we were standing. When he reached the corner a tiny black woman confronted him, shouting in his: "You hit somebody! I saw you." Whack. The delegate punched the black woman [not in the news!-ed] in the face, sending her sprawling back into Thomas and me. The scene could have turned ugly, as protesters rushed to protect the woman. But the lead organizer at the corner took control, ushering the delegate outside the protest area.

Meanwhile, a block down the street another frustrated WTO delegate pulled a revolver from his coat pocket and aimed it at protesters blocking the entrance to the Paramount Hotel, where the opening ceremonies were scheduled. The police rushed in with their clubs and pushed the protesters away from the gun-wielding man, who was neither detained nor stripped of his weapon. [I thought the anarchists were violent!-ed]

Around 10 AM, my friend Michael Donnelly and I found ourselves at 6th and Union, the site of the first major attack by police on protesters. This was hours before any acts of vandalism had occurred.

A band of about 200 protesters had occupied the intersection and refused to move after the police gave an order to disperse. About ten minutes later, a Peacekeeper vehicle arrived. Tear gas canisters were unloaded and then five or six of them were fired into the crowd. One of the protesters nearest the cops was a young, petite woman. She rose up, obviously disoriented from the gas, and a Seattle policeman, crouched less than 10 feet away, shot her in the knee with a rubber bullet. She fell to the pavement, grabbing her leg and screaming in pain. Then, moments later, one of her comrades, maddened by the unprovoked attack, charged the police line, kamikaze-style. Two cops beat him to the ground with their batons, hitting him at least 20 times. As the cops flailed away with their four-foot long clubs, the crowd chanted, "the whole world is watching, the whole world is watching." Soon the man started to rise and he was immediately shot in the back by a cop who was standing over him, cuffed and hauled away.

By now another five or six cans of tear gas had been thrown into the crowd and the intersection was clotted with fumes. At first I was stunned, staring at the scene with the glazed look of the freshly lobotomized. Then my eyes began to boil in my head, my lips burned and it seemed impossible to draw a breath. When it's raining, the chemical agents hug close to the ground, taking longer to dissolve into the air. This compounds the tear gas' stinging power, it's immobilizing effect. I staggered back up 6th Avenue toward University, where I stumbled into a cop decked out in his Star Wars storm trooper gear. He turned and gave me a swift whack to my side with his riot club. I fell to my knees and covered my head, fearing a tumult of blows. But the blows never came and soon I felt a gentle hand on my shoulder and woman's voice say, "Come here."

I retreated into a narrow alley and saw the blurry outline of a young woman wearing a Stetson cowboy hat and a gas mask. "Lean your head back, so that I can wash the chemicals out of your eyes," she said. The water was cool and within seconds I could see again. "Who are you?" I asked. "Osprey," she said, and disappeared into the chemical mist. Osprey, the familiar, totemic name of an Earth First!er. Thank god for Edward Abbey, I said to myself.

But the battle going on at 6th and University was far from over. The police moved in on a group of protesters from Humboldt County who had locked themselves down, and thus immobilized themselves in the middle of the intersection. They were ordered to evacuate the area, which of course they couldn't and wouldn't do. Suddenly, the cops attacked ferociously, dousing them in the face with spurts of pepper spray and then dropping tear gas canisters almost on top of them. Then the valiant police fell upon the helpless protesters with their batons. Two of the dozen or so protesters were knocked unconscious, but the group held its ground hours and by 2 PM the cops had backed off. The University intersection had been held.

Who were these direct action warriors on the front lines? Earth First!, the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment (the new enviro-steelworker alliance), the Ruckus Society (a direct action training center), Food Not Bombs, Global Exchange and a small contingent of Anarchists, dressed in black, with black masks, plus a hefty international contingent including French farmers, Korean greens, Canadian wheat growers and British campaigners against genetically modified foods. A group of Britons cornered two Monsanto lobbyists behind an abandoned truck carrying an ad for the Financial Times at the very moment of police onslaught, and at last glimpse the Monsanto men were covering their eyes with their neckties and fleeing back to their hotels.

Even in the run-up to WTO week in Seattle, the genteel element—foundation careerists, NGO bureaucrats, policy wonks—were all raising cautionary fingers, saying that the one thing to be feared in Seattle this week was active protest. The Internet was thick with tremulous admonitions about the need for good behavior, the perils of playing into the enemies' hands, the profound necessity for decorous—i.e. passive—comportment. Their fondest hope is to attend in mildly critical

posture—not only the WTO conclave in Seattle, but all future ones. This too is the posture of labor. In answer to a question from CNN's Bernard Shaw, whether labor wanted to kill the WTO, James Hoffa Jr. replied, "No. We want to get labor a seat at the table."

By noon, around the convention center, the situation was desperate. The Seattle police, initially comparatively restrained, were now losing control. They were soon supplemented by the Kings County sheriffs' department, a rough mob, which seem to get their kicks from throwing concussion grenades into crowds, with the M-80-like devices often exploding only inches above the heads of people.

As the day ticked away the street protesters kept asking, "Where are the labor marchers", expecting that at any moment thousands of longshoremen and teamsters would reinforce them in the fray. The absent masses never came. The marshals' for the union march steered the big crowds away from the action and the isolation of the street protesters allowed the cops to get far more violent. Eventually, several phalanxes of union marchers skirted their herders and headed up 4th Avenue to the battlegrounds at Pine and Pike. Most of them seemed to be from the more militant unions, the Steelworkers, IBEW and the Longshoremen. And they seemed to be pissed at the political penury of their leaders. Randal McCarthy, a Longshoreman from Kelso, Washington, told me: "That fucker, Sweeney. No wonder we keep getting rolled. If he were any dumber, he'd be in management."

By darkness on Tuesday the 2,000 or so street warriors had won the day, even though they were finally forced to retreat north and east out of the center. Suppose 30,000 union people had reinforced them? Downtown could have been held all night, and the convention center sealed off. Maybe even President Bill would have been forced to stay away. Oh, yeah, what about that siege tower? Well, it turned out to be an excellent diversionary tactic. When the Seattle police's SWAT teams converged to disable the Earth First!ers' strange contraption, it gave the direct action groups time to secure their positions, successfully encircling the convention center, the nearby hotels and WTO venues. It an odd way it may have been a key to the great victory of the day.

Wednesday

Wednesday was the turning point of the week. After the vicious crackdown of Tuesday night, where even Christmas carolers in a residential area were gassed, many of us wondered who would show up to confront the WTO, Bill Clinton, the police and the national guard the next morning. More than a thousand, it turned out. And the numbers grew as the day wore on. The resistance had proved its resilience. The morning's first march headed down Denny Street from Seattle Community College toward downtown. The 250 marchers were met at about 7 am by a line of cops in riot gear at 8th avenue. A sobering sign that things had become more serious was the sight of cops armed with AR-15 assault rifles. Some brave soul went up to one of the deputies and asked, "Do those shoot rubber bullets?" "Nope," the cop replied through a Darth Vader-like microphone embedded in his gas mask. "This is the real thing." Dozen of protesters were arrested immediately, placed in plastic wrist cuffs and left sitting on the street for hours—more than were arrested all day on Tuesday.

I can't extend enough praise to the National Lawyer's Guild, which sent dozens of legal observers to Seattle to record incidents of police brutality and advise demonstrators on how to act after being arrested. On Denny Street that morning I met Marge Buckley, a lawyer from Los Angeles. She was wearing a

white t-shirt with "NLG Legal Observer" printed across the front and was furiously writing notes on a pad. Buckley said she had filled several notepads on Tuesday with tales of unwarranted shootings, gassings and beatings. "Look!" Buckley said, as we trotted down the sidewalk to catch up with the marchers who had abandoned Denny Street, seeking another entry point into city center. "How weird. The people are obeying traffic signals on their way to a civil disobedience action." A few moments later I lost track of Buckley, when the police, including a group mounted on horses, encircled the marchers at Rainier Square. I slipped through the line just as the Seattle police sergeant yelled, "Gas!" Someone later said she had been arrested.

I wouldn't be surprised if Buckley had been nabbed. The police had begun targeting the "command-and-control" of the demonstrators—people with cellphones, bullhorns, the known faces and suspected organizers, medics and legal observers. Several of the plainclothes cops at the Denny Street encounter had photos in their hands and were scanning them to identify the lead organizers. As the marchers occupied the intersection singing "We Shall Overcome", about 20 police formed into a wedge and quickly attacked the protesters, seized a bald-headed man talking on a cellphone (it seemed nearly everyone in Seattle had a cellphone and a camera) and dragged him back to the police line. The man was John Sellers, director of the Ruckus Society.

On Wednesday afternoon, I encountered Kirk Murphy, the doctor. His Earth First! t-shirt had been replaced by a business suit and a rain jacket. I raised my eyebrows at him. He said, "I'm trying hard not to look like part of the support team. They've arrested a lot of our medics and I need to stay out of jail to help the injured."

These targeted arrests may have been meant to turn the protests into the chaotic mess the city's pr people were characterizing it as to the media. But it didn't happen. The various groups of protestors, sometimes in the hundreds, huddled together and decided their next course of action by a rudimentary form of consensus. Everyone was given a chance to have a say and then a vote was taken on what to do next and, usually, the will of the majority was followed without significant disruptions. The problem was that it slowed down the marches, allowing the police and National Guard troops to box in the protesters, most tragically later Wednesday evening at Pike's Place Market.

As the march turned up toward the Sheraton and was beaten back by cops on horses, I teamed up with Etienne Vernet and Ronnie Cummings. Cummings is the head of one of the feistiest groups in the US, the PureFood Campaign, Monsanto's chief pain in the ass. Cummings hails from the oil town of Port Arthur, Texas. He went to Cambridge with that other great foe of industrial agriculture, Prince Charles. Cummings was a civil rights organizer in Houston during the mid-sixties. "The energy here is incredible. Black and white, labor and green, Americans, Europeans, Africans and Asians arm-in-arm. It's the most hopeful I've felt since the height of the civil rights movement." Vernet lives in Paris, where he is a leading organizer for the radical green group EcoRopa. At that very moment the European Union delegates inside the convention were capitulating on a key issue: the EU, which had banned import of genetically engineered crops and hormone-treated beef, had agreed to a US proposal to establish an scientific committee to evaluate the health and environmental risks of biotech foods, a sure first step toward undermining the moratorium. Still Vernet was in a jolly mood, lively and invigorated, if a little bemused by the decorous nature of the crowd. "Americans seem to have been out of practice in these things," he told me. "Everyone's so polite. The only things that are burning are dumpsters filled with refuse."

He pointed to a shiny black Lexus parked on Pine Street, which the throngs of protesters had scrupulously avoided. In the windshield was a placard identifying it as belonging to a WTO delegate. "In Paris that car would be burning."

Somehow Etienne and I made it through four police barricades all the way across town to the International Media Center, a briefing area hosted by Public Citizen in the Seattle Center, a cramped Greek Revival-style structure. I was there to interview my old friend, Dave Brower and Steelworker David Foster. The Dave's were late and to pass time I sat down in front of a TV. There was Bill Clinton speaking at the Port of Seattle. His verbal sleight-of-hand routine was in masterful form. He denounced Tuesday's violence, but said the WTO delegates should listen to the "legitimate" protesters. He said he disagreed with most of their views, but said that should at least be permitted to observe the proceedings. Later that day Clinton met with the obeisant green leaders, including National Wildlife's Mark van Puten, the Sierra Club's Carl Pope and World Resources Institute chairman William Ruckelshaus. Ruckelshaus is also a longtime board member of Weyerhaeuser, the Seattle-based transnational timber company. On Thursday, environmentalists held a large demonstration outside the downtown offices of the timber company's realty wing. Needless to say, Carl Pope didn't show up for that one.

Clinton talked about having the WTO incorporate environmental sidebars into its rulemaking. But then the administration didn't back away from its Global Logging Amendment, an accelerated reduction in tariffs on the global timber trade. George Frampton, head of the Council on Environmental Quality and former head of the Wilderness Society, appeared at a press conference later in the day and stiff-armed the greens. "Knowledgeable environmentalists shouldn't have anything against the measure," Frampton said. His voice reeked with condescension. In fact, this was the one issue on

which all the big groups were united in opposition to the US position. "This follows the tried and true Clinton formula: kiss 'em, then fuck 'em over," Steve Spahr, a bus driver and computer repairman from Salem, Oregon told me. Clinton called the events outside his suite in the Westin "a rather interesting hoopla." The president expressed sympathy for the views of those in the streets at the very moment his aids were ordering Seattle Mayor Paul Shell (who people took to calling "Mayor Shellshocked") to use all available force to clear the streets. There is now no question but that the most violent attacks by the police and the National Guard came at the request of the White House and not the mayor or the police chief. And, in fact, CNN has reported that Clinton has once again flouted the Posse Comitatus Act by sending in a contingent from the US military to the scene. More than 160 members of the Domestic Military Support Force were sent to Seattle on Tuesday, including troops from the Special Forces division. Clinton, of course, has been quite happy to blame Mayor Schell, the Seattle police, and the WTO, itself, for both the chaos and the crackdown, while offering himself as a peacemaker to the very battle he provoked.

Eventually, Clinton shut up and Brower and Foster walked into the room. Brower was breaking new ground once again by pulling together a new group of trade unionists and greens. At 87 years old, Brower, the arch druid, is finally beginning to show his age. He walks with a cane. A pacemaker regulates his heartbeat. He is fighting bladder cancer. And he can't drink as many dry martinis as he used to. But his mind is still as agile as an antelope, his intellectual vision startlingly clear and radical. "Today, the police in Seattle have proved they are the handmaidens of the corporations," said Brower. "But something else has been proved. And that's that people are starting to stand up and say: we won't be transnational victims." [sadly Brower died last year.-ed]

Brower was joined by David Foster, director for District 11 of the United Steelworkers of America, one of the most articulate and unflinching labor leaders in America. Earlier this year, Brower and Foster

formed an unlikely alliance, a coalition of radical environmentalists and Steelworkers called the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, which had just run an amusing ad in the New York Times asking "Have You Heard the One About the Environmentalist and the Steelworker?". The groups had found they had a common enemy: Charles Hurwitz, the corporate raider. Hurwitz owned the Pacific Lumber Company, the northern California timber firm that is slaughtering some of the last stands of ancient redwoods on the planet. At the same time, Hurwitz, who also controlled Kaiser Aluminum, had locked out 3,000 Steelworkers at Kaiser's factories in Washington, Ohio and Louisiana "The companies that attack the environment most mercilessly are often also the ones that are the most anti-union," Foster told me. "More unites us than divides us." I came away thinking that for all its promise this tenuous marriage might end badly. Brower, the master of ceremonies, isn't going to be around forever to heal the wounds and cover up the divisions. There are deep, inescapable issues that will, inevitably, pit Steelworkers, fighting for their jobs in an ever-tightening economy, against greens, defending dwindling species like sockeye salmon that are being killed off by the hydrodams that power the aluminum plants. When asked about this potential both Brower and Foster danced around it skillfully. But it was a dance of denial. The tensions won't go away simply because the parties agree not to mention them in public. Indeed, they might even build, like a pressure cooker left unwatched. I shook the thought from my head. For this moment, the new, powerful solidarity was too seductive to let such broodings intrude for long.

But if anything could anneal the alliance together it was the actions of the Seattle cops and National Guard, who, until Wednesday afternoon had displayed a remarkable reluctance to crackdown on unionists. The Steelworkers had gotten permission from the mayor for a sanctioned march from the Labor Temple to the docks, where they performed a mock "Seattle Steel Party", dumping styrofoam steel girders into the waters of Elliot Bay, then, showing their new-found green conscience, they fished back out almost immediately). When the rally broke up, hundreds of Steelworkers joined with other protesters in an impromptu march down 1st Avenue. As the crowd reached Pike Place Market, they found paramilitary riot squads waiting for them and were rocked with volleys of military-strength CS gas, flash bombs, and larger rubber bullets, about a half-inch in diameter. The carnage was indiscriminate. Holiday shoppers and Metro buses were gassed. In an effort to jack up the intimidation, the cop squads were marching in almost goose-stepping fashion, smacking their riot clubs against their shin-guards to create a sinister sound with echoes back to Munich. This was the most violent of the street battles that I witnessed, involving hundreds of police and more than 20 tear gas attacks.

There is a certain species of pacifist (often out of the Quaker tradition) who finds any outward expression of outrage embarrassing. Thus it was that demonstrators at nearly every corner and barricade where being cautioned "not to retaliate" against police attacks. They were even warned not to throw the tear gas cans back toward the police lines. But, of course, that was the safest place for them. They weren't going to hurt the cops, who were decked out in the latest chemical warfare gear.

That night at Pike Place Market a can of tear gas landed at my feet. Next to me were a young woman and her four-year-old son. As the woman pulled her child inside her raincoat to protect him from the poison gas, I reached down, grabbed the canister and heaved it back toward the advancing black wall of cops. The can was so hot it seared by hand. Expecting to be shot at, I dove behind the nearest dumpster and saw a familiar face. It was Thomas, one of the rappers I'd walked with on Tuesday morning. We huddled close together, shielding our eyes from the smoke and gas. "Now

all these muthafuckas up here have a taste of what it's like in Compton nearly every night," Thomas screamed. When the cops are on the streets in force, black people always pay the price. As Thomas and I were ducking flash bombs and rubber bullets, Seattle police were busy harassing Richard McIver, a black Seattle City Councilman who was on his way to a WTO reception at the Westin Hotel. Even though McIver flashed the police with his embossed gold business card identifying him as a councilman, the police denied him entry. They roughly pulled him from his car and threatened to place him in handcuffs. Rep. Dennis Kucinich, the Democrat, witnessed this scene from Ohio. "I'm 58 years old," McIver said. "I had on a \$400 suit, but last night I was just another nigger."

Later that night, in the Capital Hill residential district, a Seattle cop accosted a man on the sidewalk, poked him in the chest with his baton, kicked him in the groin and then, for good measure, shot him in the neck with a rubber bullet. The man wasn't a WTO protester, but a resident who had been gassed out of his home. The image, which was caught on television cameras, helped to turn the tide against the police and, by extension, the WTO itself.

Seattle police said they responded aggressively only when their officers were hit with rocks and bottles. Well, frankly, this is bullshit. Seattle isn't Beirut. There's no rocky rubble on the streets of the Emerald City. In fact, there weren't any glass bottles, either. In the eight or nine confrontations I witnessed, the most the cops were hit with were some half-full plastic water bottles and a few lightweight sticks that had been used to hold cardboard signs. In the end, what was vandalized? Mainly the boutiques of Sweatshop Row: Nordstrom's, Adidas, the Gap, Bank of America, Niketown, Old Navy, Banana Republic and Starbucks. The expressions of destructive outrage weren't anarchic, but extremely well-targeted. The manager of Starbucks whined about how "mindless vandals" destroyed his window and tossed bags of French Roast onto the street. But the vandals weren't mindless. They didn't bother the independent street-side coffee shop across the way. Instead, they lined up and bought cup after cup. No good riot in Seattle could proceed without a cup of espresso.

These minor acts of retribution served as a kind of Gulf of Tonkin incident. They were used to justify the repressive and violent onslaughts by the police and the National Guard. Predictably, the leaders of the NGO's were fast to condemn the protesters. The World Trade Observer is a daily tabloid produced during the convention by the mainstream environmental groups and the Nader shop. It's Wednesday morning edition contained a stern denunciation of the direct action protests that had shut down the WTO the day before Pope repudiated the violence of the protests, saying it delegitimized the position of the NGOs. He did not see fit to criticize the actions of the police. But even Carl Pope was outdone by Medea Benjamin, the diminutive head of Global Exchange, who her sent her troops out to protect the facades of Niketown and the Gap from being defaced by protesters. Benjamin told the New York Times: "Here we are protecting Nike, McDonald's, The Gap, and all the while I'm thinking, 'Where are the police? These anarchists should have been arrested.'" Of course, Nike is used to police intervening to protect its factories from worker actions in places like Indonesia and Vietnam and it's depressing to see Benjamin calling for such crackdowns in Seattle.

The assault on Niketown didn't begin with the anarchists, but with protesters who wanted to get a better view of the action. They got the idea from Rainforest Action Network activists who had free-climbed the side of a building across the street and unfurled a huge banner depicting a rattlesnake, coiled and ready to strike, with the slogan, "Don't Trade on Me." Occupying the intersection in front of Niketown was a group of Korean farmers and greens, several were dressed in their multicolored traditional garb. It's no secret why they picked this corner. For decades, Nike has exploited

Korean workers in its Asian sweatshops. These folks cheered wildly and banged their copper kettles when a climber scaled the façade of Nike's storefront, stripped the chrome letters off the Niketown sign and tossed them to crowd, as Nike store managers in the window a floor above eating their lunch. The action should have warmed the hearts of nearly everyone, even the Seattle Downtown Beautification Association. For one brief moment, the city of Seattle had been rid of an architectural blight. As Harper's magazine reported a few years ago the black-and-silver neo-noir stylings of Niketown outlets bear an eerie resemblance to the designs concocted by Albert Speer for the Third Reich.

That night I went to sleep with the words of John Goodman, a locked-out steelworker from Spokane, ringing in my head. "The things I've seen here in Seattle I never thought I'd see in America."

Thursday and Beyond

By Thursday morning I was coughing up small amounts of blood, 600 demonstrators were in jail, the police were on the defensive over their tactics and the WTO conference itself was coming apart at the seams. Inside the WTO, the Africa nations were showing the same solidarity as the protesters on the streets. They refused to buckle to US demands and coaxed from US Trade Rep. Charlene Barshefsky: "I reiterated to the ministers that if we are unable to achieve that goal I fully reserve the right to also use an exclusive process to achieve a final outcome. There's no question about my right as a chair to do it or my intention to do it, but it is not the way I want this to be done." Despite the heavy-handed bluster, the African delegates hung together and the talks collapsed. Beyond the wildest hopes of the street warriors, five days in Seattle have brought us one victory after another. The protesters initially shunned and denounced by the respectable "inside strategists", scorned by the press, gassed and bloodied by the cops and National Guard: shut down the opening ceremony, prevented Clinton from addressing the WTO delegates at Wednesday night gala; the corporate press from prim denunciations of "mindless anarchy" to bitter criticisms of police brutality; forced the WTO to cancel its closing ceremonies and to adjourn in disorder and confusion, without an agenda for the next round.

In the annals of popular protest in America, these have been shining hours, achieved entirely outside the conventional arena of orderly protest and white paper activism and the timid bleats of the professional leadership of big labor and environmentalists. This truly was an insurgency from below in which all those who strove to moderate and deflect the turbulent flood of popular outrage managed to humiliate themselves. Of course, none of this seemed to deter the capitalists. On the week, the Dow shot up more than 500 points.

I walked out to the street one last time. The sweet stench of CS gas still flavored the morning air. As I turned to get into my car for the journey back to Portland, a black teenager grabbed my arm. Smiling, he said, "Hey, man, does this WTO thing come to town every year?" I knew immediately how the kid felt. Along with the poison, the flash bombs and the rubber bullets, there was an optimism and energy and camaraderie on the streets of Seattle that I hadn't felt in a long time. It was the perfect antidote to the crackdown by the cops and to the gaseous rhetoric of Clinton, Carl Pope and John Sweeney

ANOTHER WAR.....

Members of the US gov't and military have been urging massive strikes against Iraq, in the aftermath of Sept. 11, 2001. With the 3,000 bombing raids already run at this printing against Afghanistan in Oct 2001, with the usual under-reported 'mistakes', I thought it appropriate to reprint an excerpt from Ramsey Clark's "The Fire This Time" - An amazing docu-book printed in 1992.

He was the U.S. Attorney General from 1961 to 1968. He has since become a tireless advocate for civil rights and peace. One of the very few of our politicians who developed an historical and moral antagonism against the powers that be.

War Crimes Against Iraq's Civilian Population Ramsey Clark

EARLY on January 17, 1991, the United States began an unprecedented missile and bombing campaign across Iraq. Starting with 2,000 aerial sorties a day, total U.S. overflights would exceed 109,000 in the 42-day assault. Most were bombing runs. More than 88,500 tons of explosives were dropped on Iraq. This massive bombing operation was primarily a war against civilian life. Despite Pentagon assertions that everything possible was done to avoid civilian casualties, that the bombings were "surgical strikes," the bombing unquestionably targeted civilians. When the level of civilian damage is measured, to claim the bombs were accurate only proves they were aimed at Iraq's civilian population. The surgical strike myth was a cynical way to conceal the truth. The bombing was a deadly, calculated, and deeply immoral strategy to bring Iraq to its knees by destroying the essential facilities and support systems of the entire society.

TARGETING INFRASTRUCTURE AND LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEMS

The bombing of Iraq's cities and infrastructure had nothing to do with driving Iraq from Kuwait. It was intended to cripple a developing Third World country that was a politically independent military power in the region; and that was rich in oil and committed to its own economic development. Before the Gulf crisis, Iraq was making considerable economic progress, despite the ravaging effects of its war with Iran. Commission members Adeeb Abed and Gavrielle Gemma, who traveled widely in Iraq from April 3-14, 1991, made this report:

"Although it varied in different parts of the country, again and again people described to us the following: the entire country was electrified (we saw that even in more rural towns and farms there were electrical lines direct to people's homes). . . . Since 1982, eighteen major hospitals had been built. Some were renowned in the Middle East. Medical care

was basically free with a token payment of half a dinar upon admission and one dinar each day regardless of care. Illiteracy had been substantially reduced; education was universal and free through college. Water was supplied to all parts of the country. Prenatal and postnatal care and vaccinations for children were available throughout the country including in rural areas. The social position of women was advancing. Food was abundant and inexpensive. . . . Low-interest loans were provided by the government, which had also started a program to give land to people who promised to produce within five years. Doctors had not seen cases of malnutrition in Baghdad for over a decade."

The physical infrastructure was modern and growing. Thousands of miles of modern highway; major dams and modern hydroelectric, flood control, and irrigation systems; efficient telephone service, electric grid networks, and other facilities evidenced a rapidly developing country. The social position of women stood out in stark contrast to the oppression women experience in Kuwait and other Gulf nations. The Iraqi government in 1969 established the General Federation of Iraqi Women (GFIW) to advance women's causes. The GFIW has organized women's conferences, training courses, and literacy campaigns. In 1983 it started a four-year plan to encourage women to work outside the home. In Baghdad it opened four employment offices for women. Like U. S. planning against the Iraqi military, plans to bomb Iraq's civilian sector can be traced to before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. July 1990 war games at Shaw Air Force Base in South Carolina identified 27 strategic sites in Iraq, based on a "Southwest Asia contingency" projecting Iraq as the aggressor. On August 7, the list was expanded to 57 (and later, 87) strategic targets. These did not include the Iraqi military in Kuwait.

Pentagon statements about plans to bomb civilian sites appeared in the press in August and September 1990, outlining air strikes against industrial sites, power plants, water treatment plants, and similar facilities. The August 5, 1990 Los Angeles Times described another war game conducted at the Naval War College in July, in which participants were asked to determine the most effective U.S. response to an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The "realistic options" fell into three categories: an attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein; "punitive raids on such economically vital targets as refineries, pipelines, and power plants"; and committing ground troops with air support to the Arabian peninsula. In reality, each option was pursued.

Then, in September, Air Force Chief of Staff Michael Dugan told reporters that, as far as targets went, the "cutting edge would be downtown Baghdad. If I want to hurt you, it would be at home, not out in the woods someplace." Referring to a list of strictly military targets, Dugan said, "That's a nice list of targets . . . but that's not enough." The Washington Post reported that Dugan proposed an additional list - one which included Iraqi power systems, roads, railroads, and "perhaps" domestic petroleum production facilities.

Within days of that statement, Dugan was fired. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney called his statements "inappropriate," but the real reason for his firing was that Dugan jeopardized both domestic and international support for military action against Iraq. President Bush had been insisting that the U.S. military buildup in Saudi Arabia was strictly defensive, but Dugan's statements revealed that Washington was not only planning an offensive, but would target civilians. In late January 1991, the London Times observed that allied bombing was closely following Dugan's description, "with the liberation of Kuwait as only part of the overall plan."

The overall plan was described in the June 23, 1991 Washington Post. After interviews with several of the war's top planners and extensive research into how targets were determined, reporter Barton Gellman wrote:

Many of the targets were chosen only secondarily to contribute to the military defeat of [Iraq]. . . . Military planners hoped the bombing would amplify the economic and psychological impact of international sanctions on Iraqi society. . . . Because of these goals, damage to civil

ian structures and interests, invariably described by briefers during the war as "collateral" and unintended, was sometimes neither. . . . They deliberately did great harm to Iraq's ability to support itself as an industrial society.

Col. John A. Warden III, whom Gellman quoted, made the additional point that damage to Iraq's life-support systems would make Iraq economically dependent on Western help: "Saddam Hussein cannot restore his own electricity. He needs help. If there are political objectives that the UN coalition has, it can say, 'Saddam, when you agree to do these things, we will allow people to come in and fix your electricity.' It gives us long-term leverage."

One Pentagon planner was quoted in the article explaining the relationship between the bombing and sanctions: People say, "You didn't recognize that it was going to have an effect on water and sewage." Well, what were we trying to do with sanctions - help out the Iraqi people? No. What we were doing with the attacks on the infrastructure was to accelerate the effect of sanctions. "

The evidence shows that the Pentagon intended the bombing to destroy Iraq's civilian economy and make the country dependent on the West. The bombing of Iraq's citizens was central, not collateral, to U.S. strategy.

The most accurate missiles and laser-guided bombs were used to destroy key elements of Iraq's infrastructure - communications systems, oil refineries, electric generators, water treatment facilities, dams, and transportation centers - to inflict maximum hardship on the Iraqi people. The nature of the bombing of industrial and other priority sites showed calculated planning. As an illustration, Commission members inspected a bombed textile weaving plant in Babylon. Next to it was a new building that was to replace it once the equipment was moved over. On January 19, 1991, missiles hit the old plant - the one with equipment and civilian workers inside and left the new, empty building intact. U.S. bombers knew what weapons would be needed to destroy the targets. On March 25, 1991, the BBC Panorama television documentary titled "America's Secret War" reported that the British provided original construction plans that helped the allies destroy a "strategic" building in Baghdad. Most major, sophisticated construction in Iraq was designed and built by European architectural, engineering, and construction firms. Many provided plans to the Pentagon that gave detailed information for bombardiers.

The use of precision weapons reflected the Pentagon's priorities. When Air Force General Merrill McPeak reported that only 6,520 tons of the total 88,500 tons of bombs dropped - only 7 percent - were "smart," he spoke of the bombs directed at important targets. 10 More of the early bombing was electronically controlled, much of it laser-guided from F-117 Stealth bombers. Most key targets in Iraq's infrastructure, especially in Baghdad, were hit in the first weeks of the air war. As the war progressed, less accurate, free-falling bombs were used, as bombs with directional controls were too expensive for the low-priority targets that were left. Basra and other areas with fewer prime targets suffered more from free-falling bombs and carpet-bombing.

U.S. and British agents placed many homing devices near targets early in the bombing, enhancing their accuracy. The commando missions that placed these devices "remained partly cloaked in secrecy," as the March 1, 1991 New York Times reported:

"American special forces operations were barely mentioned during the six-week Persian Gulf war. . . . Reporters who learned of some of their activities inside Iraq were urged not to write about them until the end of the war, and special forces commanders turned down interview requests. "

At a dinner in early May 1991, British Prime Minister John Major boasted about his country's secret Special Air Service (SAS), which played a major role in placing the homing devices.

The London Times termed Major's remarks "unprecedented," since the supersecret SAS is not usually mentioned in public." Shortly before the ground war started, a British intelligence officer speaking anonymously told U.S. reporters how the SAS was operating:

"The SAS man fires his hand-held laser pistol at the target and "warms" it long enough for the "smart" bombs to be guided in. . . The SAS is crawling all over Iraq doing very nasty things. They're dressed as Arabs, they speak as Arabs, and they look like Arabs."

Hundreds of sorties were directed against Iraq's electrical plants, using Tomahawk cruise missiles, laser-guided GBU-10 Paveway 11 bombs, and unguided bombs. On June 23, 1991, Patrick Tyler reported in the New York Times that the United States had designed a weapon specifically to shut down Iraq's electric power. Tyler based his report on interviews with government analysts who saw a classified report on the effects of the war against Iraq. He reported the allies had "developed a still-secret weapon that dropped thousands of metallic filaments onto the electrical network at key points to create huge short-circuits and blackouts on the night of January 17, when the war began. To make repair hazardous, unexploded fragmentation mines were dropped over the same areas. More than 90 percent of Iraq's electrical capacity was taken out of service in the first hours. Days after the war started, the damage was so severe that Iraq shut down what little remained of its power grid. As one U.S. planner put it, "Not an electron was flowing."

U.S. air attacks destroyed all of the country's 11 major electrical power plants, as well as 119 substations. The Al-Taji turbine plant was attacked with missiles and cluster bombs, and at least one person was killed and many were injured. The power plant at Al-Hartha was struck by missiles 13 times, with one attack on the last day of the war. And yet, the three-volume Pentagon report issued in April 1992 claimed that the long-term crippling of Iraq's electrical grid was an accident - that the allies had meant only to temporarily damage the grid. 16 But if the United States had really wanted Iraq to be able to restore its electrical power, it would have lifted sanctions after the war to allow Iraq to buy parts to repair the damage. And the damage to Iraq's infrastructure was comprehensive. Electric power was only one part of the overall targeting.

WHAT WAS BOMBED

After their fact-finding trip to Iraq, Commission members Gemma and Abed reported:

"In every city we visited, we documented severe damage to homes, electrical plants, fuel storage facilities, civilian factories, hospitals, churches, civilian airports, vehicles, transportation facilities, food storage and food testing laboratories, grain silos, animal vaccination centers, schools, communication towers, civilian government office buildings, and stores. Almost all facilities we saw had been bombed two or three times, ensuring that they could not be repaired. Most of the bridges we saw destroyed were bombed from both ends."

Dr. David Levinson, who visited Iraq immediately after the war with the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, said, "There were many direct civilian casualties from the bombings, but these numbers do not reflect the true horror of this war." 18 Compounded by sanctions, the damage to life-support systems in Iraq killed more after the war than direct attacks did during the war. As Levinson testified at Commission hearings in San Francisco and Los Angeles, "It was clear that the bombing war against Iraq has been a war directed against the civilian population through massive destruction of the country's infrastructure." Iraq's eight major multipurpose dams were repeatedly hit and heavily damaged. This simultaneously wrecked flood control, municipal and industrial water storage, irrigation, and hydro-electric power. Four of Iraq's seven

major water pumping stations were destroyed. Bombs and missiles hit 31 municipal water and sewage facilities; 20 were hit in Baghdad alone. Sewage spilled into the Tigris and out into the streets of Baghdad, adding water-borne disease to the list of killers. In Basra, the sewage system completely collapsed. Water purification plants were incapacitated nationwide. Those that were not damaged could not function without electricity. For many weeks, people in Baghdad - without television, radio, or newspapers to warn them - were getting their drinking water from the Tigris in buckets. The Iraqi News Agency and Baghdad Broadcasting Station lost six wireless broadcasting stations, 12 television stations, and five radio stations. Without electricity, even undamaged radio transmitters and receivers were useless.

Iraq's telephone system was put out of service in the first few days of the war. The International Telecommunications Union's (ITU) fact-finding trip to Iraq in June-July 1991 reported that 400,000 of Iraq's 900,000 phone lines had been destroyed. Fourteen central exchanges were irreparably damaged, with 13 more put out of service indefinitely. The ITU reported that as late as July 1991, "no reliable telecommunications exist[ed] in Iraq."

Lack of communications frustrated attempts to conduct any activity, including caring for the sick and injured. The destruction of transportation links compounded the problem. In a country built around two great rivers, 139 automobile and railway bridges were either damaged or destroyed, including 26 in the Basra province alone. Major highways and other roads were hit, too, making travel a nightmare. Road maintenance stations were bombed to prevent repairs. All kinds of civilian cars, trucks, buses, and even taxis were attacked along Iraq's major highways. Iraq's agriculture and food-processing, storage, and distribution system was attacked directly and systematically. Half of Iraq's agricultural production came from irrigated lands, and all of the irrigation systems serving them - including storage dams, barrages, pumping stations, and drainage projects - were attacked. Farmers lost the ability to flood or drain land, cutting food production in half and causing widespread saltwater intrusion in Basra province. At least three food warehouses in the Baghdad province were hit, seven were struck in the Basra province, and all of Iraq's General Company of Foodstuffs warehouses in the Al-Qadissiya province were destroyed. Important pesticide storage was destroyed. Three separate facilities of the Iraqi Dates Company were damaged. Iraq's baby milk powder factory at Abu Ghraib, unique to the region, was attacked on January 20, 21, and 22. Although the Pentagon claimed it was a chemical plant, the attacks were simply part of the deliberate targeting of Iraq's food production. The Al-Ma'mun Vegetable Oils Factory and the sugar factory in Meisan Province were hit. In Al-Taji, a small town near Baghdad, the country's biggest frozen meat storage and distribution center was destroyed. It was bombed three times in one day - at 8:00 A.m., 3:00 P.m., and 8:00 P.m. Farm herds were decimated - 31/2 million sheep from a total of 10 million and 2 million cattle - primarily from feed shortages. Ninety percent of the country's poultry production was destroyed. Grain silos across the entire country were hit methodically, and hundreds of farms and farm buildings were attacked. The nation's tractor assembly plant and major fertilizer plant were destroyed in bombing raids that took 16 lives.

In June 1992, more than a year after Iraq was driven from Kuwait and with sanctions still in place, the United States bombed grain and wheat fields with incendiary bombs near Mosul in northern Iraq. There was no UN resolution to condemn this open and unprovoked attack on Iraq's ability to feed itself. U.S. bombing hit 28 civilian hospitals and 52 community health centers. Zubair Hospital in Basra province totally collapsed from bombing. At Al-Rashad Mental Hospital, southwest of Baghdad, ceilings collapsed on patients' beds. At Ulwiyya Maternity Hospital, shrapnel and broken glass hit babies and mothers. The student health clinic and school in Hilla was bombed. Five of Iraq's military medical facilities were also damaged.

Allied bombs damaged 676 schools; 38 were totally destroyed. Eight of those hit were parts of universities. Nor were mosques or historic sites immune from U.S. attacks, though the Pentagon stressed that they were not targeted. In fact, they were hit all across the country. Iraq ...

Iraq...War Crimes...continued..

reported that 25 mosques in Baghdad alone were hit, and 31 more were reported damaged around the country. During the first week of February, I saw six badly damaged mosques, with two more in Basra totally destroyed, and three damaged Christian churches. The 900-year-old Church of St. Thomas -in Mosul, more than 1,000 miles from Kuwait-was attacked, as was the Mutansiriya School, one of the oldest Islamic schools in Iraq. Bombers hit civilian government office buildings in Baghdad, including the Baath Party headquarters, City Hall, the Supreme Court, the justice Department, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of justice, the Ministry of Labor, the National Palace, and the central post office. Baghdad's impressive new convention and conference center, built to host the annual Non-Aligned Nations meeting, was extensively damaged. Many manufacturing plants were hit. Seven textile factories sustained damage, as did five engineering plants, five construction facilities, four car assembly plants, three chlorine plants, a major ammonia export facility, and 16 chemical, petrochemical, and phosphate plants. A major hypodermic syringe facility in Hilla was destroyed by laser-guided rockets. All major cement plants were hit. Twelve industrial contracting companies reported extensive damage to their facilities. The Baghdad factories of the Al-Sa'ad Company, the Al-Balsam Cosmetics Company, the Baghdad Razors Company, the Akad Clothes Factory, and the Muwaffak J. Janna Factory were all totally destroyed.

Iraq's oil industry was a priority target. U.S. planes hit 11 oil refineries, five oil pipeline and production facilities, and many oil tankers. Three oil tankers were sunk and three others set on fire. Bombs hit major storage tanks, the gas/oil separators through which crude oil passes to refineries, the distilling towers and catalytic converters critical to modern refineries, and the important K2 pipeline junction near Beiji, which connected northern oil fields, an export pipeline to Turkey, and a reversible north-south pipeline inside Iraq. Saddam International Airport and Al-Muthana Airport were attacked, along with parked passenger and cargo planes. Rail stations and yards, transportation hubs, bus stations, and car lots were systematically attacked everywhere. As the infrastructure and life-support systems were being bombed, Iraqi civilians were killed by the thousands. Attacks on life-support systems assured that many more thousands would perish, even though they were not in the direct line of fire. Dr. Q. M. Ismail, director of Baghdad's Saddam Central Children's Hospital, was on duty the night U.S. bombs began to fall. Forty infants were in incubators, their mothers at their sides. When the electricity went out, the incubators stopped working. With the thunder of war all around them, the desperate mothers grabbed their children and rushed them into the basement.

Six hours later, 20 of the children were dead. "Those 40 mothers nearly went crazy," Dr. Ismail recalled. "I will never forget the sight of those women."

BOMBING CITIES

Seventy-two percent of Iraq's population lives in cities. U.S. claims that it spared civilians through pinpoint bombing are false. There is no way to bomb densely populated cities day after day and not kill civilians.

The whole of Basra was bombed mercilessly. Paul Walker, director of the Institute for Peace and International Security at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, testified at Commission hearings in New York and Boston that "there was no pretense at a surgical war in this city." He quoted from an article in the February 5, 1991 Los Angeles Times - by coincidence, a day I was in Basra - which reported: a hellish nightmare of fires and smoke so dense that witnesses say the sun hasn't been clearly visible for several days at a time. . . . [The bombing is] leveling some entire city blocks . . . [and there are] bomb craters the size of football fields and an untold number of casualties. In the fourth week of bombing, U.S. military officials announced that they no longer considered Basra off-limits to area bombing. Since area bombing - any bombardment that treats a number of clearly separated and distinct military targets within a city as a single military target -violates Article 51 of Protocol I additional to the Geneva Convention, U.S. officials had to justify such activity. On February 11, General Richard Neal told reporters, "Basra is a military town in the true sense. . . . The infrastructure, military infrastructure, is closely interwoven within the

city of Basra itself." Neal also said no civilians were left in Basra, only military targets.

In fact, 800,000 people lived in Basra, Iraq's second largest city. When I was there, during and after the bombing, I saw whole neighborhoods - schools, homes, a post office - destroyed. San Antonio, Texas has a higher presence of military facilities than Basra. It is appalling to think anyone might claim the whole city of San Antonio is a legitimate target. Postwar visitors to Basra were no less appalled. Baghdad, with far less damage than Basra and other southern cities, nevertheless was hit for 39 consecutive days. "We're going after hard targets in Baghdad," Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly told reporters. "Therefore, it takes more bombs on each target in order to be successful."

[Later in this chapter]

CIVILIAN DEATHS

The devastating six-week bombing and the destructive long-term sanctions have killed tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians. Commission research shows that probably more than 150,000 civilians have died as a result of the U.S. assault on Iraq. This includes at least 100,000 postwar deaths, a figure used by many who have direct knowledge of the situation - Iraq's health minister, Dr. Um aid Midhat Mubarak, and Catholic Relief Services, to name two. Many estimates are higher. Based on infant mortality rates, UNICEF estimated in December 1991 that 87,000 children alone would have died by the war's anniversary.

On my trip to Iraq during the bombing, what I saw and the numbers of deaths I was able to verify directly due to bombing led me to estimate that there had been 15,000 civilian deaths by that time. The heaviest bombing occurred during the last three weeks, including the tragedies at Falluja and Amariyah. Based on all evidence available to the Commission, I estimated at least 25,000 Iraqi civilians dead as a direct result of bombing. Other estimates are in this range, or higher, though the Iraqi government, Greenpeace, and Middle East Watch have given estimates in the low thousands, which are unportable.

I met with the Iraqi Health Minister on February 2, 1991 and the Red Crescent on February 8, 1991. They gave figures that, when totaled, show 7,000 civilians had died by those dates from contaminated water, lack of infant food supplement, and medicine shortages alone. Total indirect deaths as of that date were probably above 12,000. The death rate was rapidly accelerating during the first week of February. Considering all evidence available to the Commission,

I estimate 25,000 civilians had died from indirect effects of the bombing, embargo, shattered infrastructure, and damaged safety and health services by March 1, 1991. Adding 25,000 indirect deaths, 25,000 bombing deaths, and at least 100,000 postwar deaths makes total civilian deaths in excess of 150,000.

--Ramsey Clark, *The Fire This Time*

[This is only up to 1992-----Sanctions, as the UN has stated, have resulted in over 500,000 more deaths since then-ed]

Sept 11th: MURDER, HYSTERIA AND WAR

Tommy S.

I was able to watch the unfolding of the tragedy on TV, taping spots for days. I was deeply moved by the loss...initially by the fact that hundreds of firefighters were running up the stairs to save people when the building fell, and then very upset imagining all the pain the dead went through and the pain the living will go through. Which will be answered by the massacre of tens of thousands more. Then pondered the horror of the passengers on the airliners that were used as missiles.

I was worried that I would get a chuckling 'the chickens come home to roost' from my many left friends via email strings or whatever you call them. But again I underestimated the compassion of people. Most rational people see it correctly as the beginning of more terror everywhere and that this was an attack by right-wing fascists against a right-wing government, but as usual, with retaliation by any sector of the right, only regular people really suffer. The people that organized the attack know very well that this will bring about the death of thousands of innocent ARABS through outright attacks of war, and economic sanctions. Already the UN is warning that cut-off of aid to the devastated Afghans will result in over 100,000 starving. The people that did this attack knew to what lengths the US gov't would go to for revenge. They are uncaring for life, as much as our gov't and the CIA are.

Once I got over my decadent fascination with all the amateur videos that showed on the screen over the days, (The spectacle!) I began to think more logically and started to ask questions to the Tubes That Don't Answer. In four days of TV, I only saw Mike Wallace put time into the fact that Osama Bin Laden was a CIA asset. His interview's content with an ex-CIA officer was absent from most of the networks the first four days. Though they did not mention Osama's connections and training help with the KLA in Kosovo, who the US were 'saving' by bombing the hell out of Serbia only a few years ago.

It is difficult for me to say much more. I feel completely powerless to stop what I see as an endless lurch to an abyss. Similar as to how powerless I feel going to demonstrations to stop the sanctions against Iraq. 'Bringing it Home' to Americans, that is, letting them see what real destruction, and mass death is like, will not make any Americans more peaceful or less likely to suck gov't propaganda anymore than usual. There are always 'reasons' for workers being caught up in nation-state and nationalist wars; reasons of security by the nation-states, and reasons of retribution by nationalist forces that are oppressed by imperialist or corporatist powers. Though the reasons hardly ever have to do with any reasonable progress to a better world. Yes, I am being simplistic here. The whole tragedy is actually based in very simple terms of struggle for power.

Without international mass organizing with a militant confederated direct democratic base, I see our world's spiral becoming only worse. You can't reform a political and economic combine that kills and jails dissident voices anymore than you can reform fascist religious demagogues. The mass jingoistic hysteria was predictable. We are brainwashed (at this point, yes I would call it that) from birth. Very few citizens here can separate 'America' from the US gov't, let alone do they have the ability to recall the blood and toil and progress of the American people against the abominations thrown upon them and in their path by the US government. The amazingly progressive documents in the US, for that time, in the late 1770's, are held to our faces still as the symbol of the flag. To attack US military actions is to attack these documents. Absurd, but it is the corporate media's and the politicians constant battering ram. The actions of our government are very often daily counter to those documents.

Our 'wealth' has nothing to do with gifts from the federal and state system represented by the red white and blue flag. This nation was a wealth of every imaginable resource the earth has to offer. You would have to be an idiot not to realize that. The only way this land mass could not have become a wealthy state is if it was under an imperialistic boot through the 1880's such as Brazil and Mexico were, and Africa of course. I digress as usual. But I am sure you have a myriad of pointed and emotional thoughts and feelings every day. I doubt any of you are going to work, NOT questioning every headline you see, every flag-waver you see, every pang of distress you feel. First came a genuine sadness among us all, and not an unjustifiable fear. What will our government do in our name? What more horrors will much of the rest of the world see us responsible for? How do you disengage the power plays from this spiral to the abyss? Already, there are writers in 'respected' papers talking about 'tactical' nuclear strikes.

For better-written responses to the whole situation see below, but for now here are some odds and sods I recall from the ten days after September 11, 2001 :

—Saw two interviews with people who got last minute cell phone calls that claimed their dead friend was ordered back to the desk; to not go down the stairs. Both times, the interviewer cut them off. One woman said, "He was ordered to go back to his desk, the boss said equities might start trading again." Both towers had been hit when she got this call.....They cut to another scene ...

-Unless the people on flight 93 that crashed in PA knew for sure what the other planes had been steered to (how would they know? Did the hijackers boast to the passengers?) then their supposed wrangle with the fascists that brought the plane down would not be heroic at all. Since as all airplane personnel know, you don't fight; most high jacked planes are held for ransom, or fanatic's attention and only a small number of passengers are ever killed. So, some "heroes" crashed the plane killing everyone? To save the White House? Time may not tell us...but the last thing I would do in a highjacking situation is to try to play hero. You are taking hundreds of others' lives in your hand. That's why pilots are (for now) not allowed to carry guns.

-The 'Comedy Shows'. I only watched Tuesday night a week later cuz Mike of the band, told me he heard Letterman talk crap before. Most of us, including me, are under the illusion that people we laugh at, MUST be at least liberal, if not kinda left. So wrong, so wrong.....

Right away Letterman is talking about bombing 'those guys'. (Who?) I turn to Conan O'Brian and he goes into this 20 minute unbelievably pathetic rambling grief of disconnection (kinda like how I write but hey I don't have 20 writers for me!)...that ends in this trajectory: "I know all the young people of today are so cynical, but I am asking you to not be cynical. Don't let this make you more cynical...since I have started this show I have had this bust on my desk." And he holds it up. It's a clownish looking ceramic head of EISENHOWER that holds his pencils. It's not a joke. This is the end of a long monologue about how he and the staff had this long discussion about whether 'they could do comedy anymore'. And here to encourage the young people of America, he holds up a dime-store novelty caricature of a right wing general!!!! Whew..that was it....these rich people are so out of it. I mean who did the base work of anti-WTO? Young people. Who is organizing on the majority of campuses the anti-sweatshop movement? 18 to 21 year olds! But then maybe that is what he means about 'cynicism'....that young people are cynical about the greatness of American capitalism and our democracy. No, that is a facet of progressive critical empowering thought. Sometimes I'm slow. I figured he meant cynicism as in not being active in society. What he meant, was criticism of this 'great country'. If my band ever plays on his show, I am smashing Eisenhower's head.

I turn back to Letterman quick, and Tori Amos is doing an amazing version of Time by Tom Waits. But sadly, at the end of the show, she hugs him saying, "You don't know how much you are doing for our

grief"...something like that...and christ, what does this someone that makes tens of million dollars a year off a staff of twenty writers' work do for anyone? He makes us laugh...ohh...And anyway, Bomb Them All is not a joke in my book. So now I can't even play my Tori CDs. Then there is the fact that Letterman dropped Ani diFranco from a show cuz she wanted to play an anti-racist song that was 'too downbeat'.

-The SF examiner IS a big joke in the city these days. It use to be the competing daily paper against the SF Chronicle. A long story....but it's headlines are a source of conversation. Calling them 'yellow journalism' would be a compliment. One headline was something like "So Whaduya Think?" Gee, Curly, is that really your goiter, or is that a beer keg? I dunno! One day they featured a badly drawn caricature of an SF city supervisors' meeting showing 'chaos' and maybe some identity politics..I didn't bother to figure it out. I have watched many supervisor meetings on TV, and they are by and by, very intelligent and (representative) democratic goings on. Really this current crop, even the right-wingers, are very smart and can actually speak and hold thoughts. Not to mention that at every meeting many citizens (and cranky whining rich people) get to speak. So, a cartoon (!) for an above the fold headline. There have been worse such as "Prostitutes on Sixth Street" (part of a hit piece against the DA Halinnan cuz they, the right Democrat Willie Brown, and one TV station claim he is not prosecuting hard enough....though sadly for me to admit, his drug prosecutions are the same as Oakland's) and yes, all of us said 'ohhh horrible, prostitutes in a city! What muckraking!' Then headlines such as "FBI Says Bridge Will be Attacked!" These editors are fucking mongoloids really.

So the day after the bombing, we read "Bastards!". And as every American knows, that word is now completely linked with the crass South Park Cartoon character.

As in "They killed Kenny, those Bastards!" Uh huh....our free corporate press, here to enlighten us with objective analysis declaring in 40 point above the fold type "Bastards!"

What's next? A Homer Simpson quote on Islam?

EEEEEE

Three weeks later we get "No War for Berkeleyites and Wimps". I am not kidding.

It is an op ed piece (sept 28) by Martin Nolan of the Boston Globe as an above the fold factual article. Utter crap. The same old 'the left is knee-jerk anti-american'...since any criticism of the CIA and the US military is 'anti-american' while at the same time the writer will proclaim dissent is our heritage. He and Thomas Friedman of the NY Times must exchange fallacious methods of reasoning (and then Larry-Rush Limbaugh-Livermore of the punk zine world copies it). The second to last paragraph is the best of hawks-Vietnam-off-my-chest where he claims that

"for the left, politics has always been more effective than parades....Phil Burton...helped end the war in Vietnam, along with Gene McCarthy, George McGovern, Bobby Kennedy, and Tip O'Neil" (!)

Yes, more of the unqualified relentless re-writing of history and dissent against the US invasion of South Vietnam. Bobby Kennedy did not even speak out against the war until 1968. McGovern only came out then for withdrawal from a untenable situation. You can count the democrats on one hand that spoke out against the bombing before 1968. They were forced to by the mass direct action protests of the people. This 'left' action by corporate politicians was after over SIX YEARS of carpet bombing, 'pacification programs and deforestation,(begun under JFK) that had already resulted in over a million deaths. Before 1968, NO major mainstream paper had come out against the war. And as we know, to call the left : McGovern, Kennedy and the rest, is like claiming Al Gore is a savior of the working class. This Nolan fella pushes his sophism farther by claiming 'hey look at the 90's the US military has done GOOD things', and then notes saving Kosovo, conveniently not calling it 'bombing the entire country of Serbia' but saving people by bombing. The irony surely escapes him. The US supported the KLA in Kosovo, who have ties with Osama Bin Laden (!) and are now wrecking havoc in Macedonia with their US supplied arms. I won't go too much into 'humanitarian inter

vention' here as the euphemism for bombing civilians ("Lights out in Belgrade" declared one official gleefully)....or how many people are still dying in Kosovo and Serbia from finding cluster bombs, or the long-term effects of using Depleted Uranium bullets. The next issue will have plenty of sad stories if you don't Know them by now.

By the way, cluster bombs look like oversized orange soda cans. Kids pick them up.

Farmers run their plows over them. Over a thousand people in Laos still die a year from unexploded anti-people bombs left over from 68- 72. These good things that the US military has done!

→ → → → →

—Noticed that all the Airport Administrators were more eloquent without text or tele-prompters than any politician. Compare these guys with Bush going "Ya know, I'm a loving guy"...while he made some kinda snake neck Tarantino-movie move. You think Gore would have been better? He pushed even more right on Clinton against Iraq. And I can imagine him now....stiff necked with the strings almost visible pulling up his hand for accent in the most inappropriate moment..."I am increasing the defense budget 20 percent!" (a fact—he wanted to increase it more than Bush!)

→ → → → →

-Censorship? Here's a taste: NY Times September 19, 2001 THE POP LIFE,After the Horror, Radio Stations Pull Some Songs:... "Clear Channel Communications, the Texas-based company that owns about 1,170 radio stations nationwide, has circulated a list of 150 songs and asked its stations to avoid playing them because of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Some listed songs would be insensitive to play right now, such as the Gap Band's "You Dropped a Bomb on Me" [a great dance long song!]and Soundgarden's "Blow Up the Outside World," but other choices, critics and musicians, say, are less explicable.....[]..a specific song or songs are mentioned for each artist except for one: the politically minded rap-rock group Rage Against the Machine. For this band, the list simply considers "all Rage Against the Machine songs" questionable."

I wonder why. No doubt the reactionary "Rock the Casbah" by the Clash is allowed. Though I have been listening to Clear Channel stations in SF for a month, and no one has played that song. Been hearing more peace type songs, but don't think top 40 listeners yet know that Born in the USA is anti-war.

☹ ☹ ☹ ☹ ☹

—THE CALLS TO WAR, some of which I saw, but only FAIR, the media watchdog group, can bring it all together in just a few days. These people are amazing in their thoroughness. Please subscribe,...your \$ support something so important...here is a short collection....

"September 17, 2001 In the wake of the devastating attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, many media pundits focused on one theme: retaliation. For some, it did not matter who bears the brunt of an American attack: "There is only one way to begin to deal with people like this, and that is you have to kill some of them even if they are not immediately directly involved in this thing."—former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger (CNN, 9/11/01)

"The response to this unimaginable 21st-century Pearl Harbor should be as simple as it is swift— kill the bastards. A gunshot between the eyes, blow them to smithereens, poison them if you have to. As for cities or countries that host these worms, bomb them into basketball courts." —Steve Dunleavy (New York Post, 9/12/01)

"America roused to a righteous anger has always been a force for good. States that have been supporting if not Osama bin Laden, people like him need to feel pain. If we flatten part of Damascus or Tehran or whatever it takes, that is part of the solution." {Then 'flatten the CIA—they supported him for years} —Rich Lowry, National Review editor, to Howard Kurtz (Washington Post, 9/13/01)

"TIME TO TAKE NAMES AND-NUKE AFGHANISTAN."

—Caption to cartoon by Gary Brookins (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 9/13/01)

"At a bare minimum, tactical nuclear capabilities should be used against the bin Laden camps in the desert of Afghanistan. To do less would be rightly seen by the poisoned minds that orchestrated these attacks as cowardice on the part of the United States and the current administration." —Former Defense Intelligence Agency officer Thomas Woodrow, "Time to Use the Nuclear Option" (Washington Times, 9/14/01)

Bill O'Reilly: "If the Taliban government of Afghanistan does not cooperate, then we will damage that government with air power, probably. All right? We will blast them, because..." Sam Hussein, Institute for Public Accuracy: "Who will you kill in the process?" O'Reilly: "Doesn't make any difference." —("The O'Reilly Factor," Fox News Channel, 9/13/01)

"This is no time to be precious about locating the exact individuals directly involved in this particular terrorist attack.... We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity. We weren't punctilious about locating and punishing only Hitler and his top officers. We carpet-bombed German cities; we killed civilians. That's war. And this is war." The Washington Post's David Broder (9/13/01), considered a moderate, issued his own call for "new realism— and steel— in America's national security policy": "For far too long, we have been queasy about responding to terrorism. Two decades ago, when those with real or imagined grievances against the United States began picking off Americans overseas on military or diplomatic assignments or on business, singly or in groups, we delivered pinprick retaliations or none at all."

It's worth recalling the U.S. response to the bombing of a Berlin disco in April 1986, which resulted in the deaths of two U.S. service members: The U.S. immediately bombed Libya, which it blamed for the attack. According to Libya, 36 civilians were killed in the air assault, including the year-old daughter of Libyan leader Moamar Khadafy (Washington Post, 5/9/86). It is unlikely that Libyans considered this a "pinprick."

More recently, in 1998, Bill Clinton sent 60 cruise missiles, some equipped with cluster bombs, against bin Laden's Afghan base, in what was presented as retaliation for the bombing of U.S. embassies in Africa. One missile aimed at Afghan training camps landed hundreds of miles off course in Pakistan, while a simultaneous attack in Sudan leveled one of the country's few pharmaceutical factories. [Interesting that I was watching a cable Discovery Channel special on bin Laden, that immediately after the mention of the Sudan bombing, it cut short. Like a bad edit. Did the writer originally mention the fact that it was never proved to be a bio-weapons center? Even 60 Minutes re-aired that weekend an interview on this subject with some military officers that could not declare it was a viable target. In fact it was simply a pharmaceutical company. And remember in parts of Africa what destroying this type of small time infrastructure can mean. How many more thousands died in Sudan after this because of this? No discussion-TS] Media cheered the attacks (In These Times, 9/6/98), though careful investigation into the case revealed no credible evidence linking the plant to chemical weapons or Osama bin Laden, the two justifications offered for the attack (New York Times, 10/27/99, London Observer, 8/23/01.....

the Chicago Tribune's John Kass declared (9/13/01), "For the past decade we've sat dumb and stupid as the U.S. military was transformed from a killing machine into a playpen for sociologists and political schemers." This "playpen" dropped 23,000 bombs on Yugoslavia in 1999, killing between 500 and 1,500 civilians, [a very conservative estimate by FAIR, 5,000 would be closer from the research I have read] and may have killed as many as 1,200 Iraqis in 1998's Desert Fox attack (Agence France Presse, 12/23/98). [As well as over 500,000 dead by sanctions as the UN states] The Wall Street Journal (9/13/01) urged the U.S. to "get serious" about terrorism by, among other things, eliminating "the 1995 rule, imposed by former CIA Director John Deutch under political pressure, limiting whom the U.S. can recruit for counterterrorism. For fear of hiring rogues, the CIA decided it would only hire Boy Scouts." One non-Boy Scout the CIA worked with in the 1980s is none other than Osama bin Laden (MSNBC, 8/24/98; The Atlantic, 7-8/01)— then considered a valuable asset in the fight against Communism, but now suspected of being the chief instigator of the World Trade Center attacks.....

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman wondered (9/13/01): "Surely Islam, a grand religion that never perpetrated the sort of Holocaust against the Jews in its midst that Europe did, is being distorted when it is treated as a guidebook for suicide bombing. How is it that not a single Muslim leader will say that?"

Of course, many Muslims would— and did— say just that. Political and civil leaders throughout the Muslim world have condemned the attacks, and Muslim clerics throughout the Middle East have given sermons refuting the idea that targeting civilians is a tenet of Islam (BBC, 9/14/01; Washington Post 9/17/01).

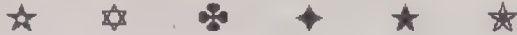
"[The World Trade Center and the Pentagon] have drawn, like gathered lightning, the anger of the enemies of civilization. Those enemies are always out there.... Americans are slow to anger but mighty when angry, and their proper anger now should be alloyed with pride. They are targets because of their virtues—principally democracy, and loyalty to those nations which, like Israel, are embattled salients of our virtues in a still-dangerous world." —George Will (Washington Post, 9/12/01)

"This nation symbolizes freedom, strength, tolerance, and democratic principles dedicated to both liberty and peace. To the tyrants, the despots, the closed societies, there are no alterations to the policies, no gestures we can make, no words we can say that will convince those determined to continue their hate." —Charles G. Boyd (Washington Post, 9/12/01) "Are Americans afraid to face the reality that there is a significant portion of this world's population that hates America, hates what freedom represents, hates the fact that we fight for freedom worldwide, hates our prosperity, hates our way of life? Have we been unwilling to face that very difficult reality?" —Sean Hannity (Fox News Channel, 9/13/01)

"Our principled defense of individual freedom and our reluctance to intervene in the affairs of states harboring terrorists makes us an easy target." —Robert McFarlane (Washington Post, 9/13/01)

One exception was ABC's Jim Wooten (World News Tonight, 9/12/01), who tried to shed some light on what might motivate some anti-U.S. sentiment in the Middle East, reporting that "Arabs see the U.S. as an accomplice of Israel, a partner in what they believe is the ruthless repression of Palestinian aspirations for land and independence." Wooten continued: "The most provocative issues: Israel's control over Islamic holy sites in Jerusalem; the stationing of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia near some of Islam's holiest sites; and economic sanctions against Iraq, which have been seen to deprive children there of medicine and food." Stories like Wooten's, which examine the U.S.'s highly contentious role in the Middle East and illuminate some of the forces that can give rise to.....

violent extremism, contribute far more to public security than do pundits calling for indiscriminate revenge. [That from FAIR]



On a more human side, to go back to the sadness, and even farther from the right-wing arena that allows no discussion, **here is a first person account of a worker volunteering to clear the rubble.** I edited out some stuff that may get him in trouble.

Letter via a friend:

September 15th

"I have spent the past two days helping out by sorting supplies and delivering them down to the WTC. It's really creepy there - surreal doesn't describe. I get queasy every time I go down there and the feeling doesn't go away for at least a half hour after you leave.

What scares me is all the pro-America rhetoric that I keep hearing. I am there to help my fellow humans. People keep handing us flags and waving "honk if you love America" signs. Don't they realize if we keep the treating the world like shit this will just keep happening? Probably not. Might I add that other than FedEx and UPS I have not seen any donations or help from any megacorps. (Well McDonalds and Outback Steakhouse are serving food at Ground Zero). But no one else. We donated 300 shirts from the shelves at [deleted], okay so most of them would never sell, but where are the Wal-Marts and others. They are making a fortune off the good intentions of people who go there to buy socks for the workers; it's sick but not surprising. They are making money off this tragedy, what else is new.

One good sign - I guess, was the fact that I have actually heard political debate. In union square (Tuesday and Wednesday night at least) people actually were debating what to do and the fact that America's needs to change our foreign policy. Of course, for every intelligent comment there was 10 "fuck you, USA rules" or something like that. But at least there was some discussion. Then again, this is Greenwich Village.

Oh well - that's my two cents. I felt your letter deserved a response. I will be back working tomorrow and I am doing food detail on Sunday. The workers at the WTC are all zombie-like, but all (are) really appreciative of our help. Here's something I don't understand that maybe you know the answer to, why are there so many Scientologists there? It makes no sense. But there are hundreds."

September 16th

"Just an update - today everything went to the unions. Volunteers are no longer needed as you have to be in "certain" unions if you want to help. 150 welders from Local 150 showed up today, with credentials, who wanted to work for free. But they were turned away. They were not in Local 30 and only they can work there now. Of course they all get paid. The Local 150 guys wanted to work free, I guess that was their mistake. Amazingly all the Union guys who were helping sort donations were pissed. They don't want money, they just want to help. But someone's pockets are getting greased and that's all that matters. Of course their was no way a contract could have been sent out for bids to save some of the taxpayers money. One of their main reasons for this is they say it's easier to control the "private" workers. Some stuff disappeared - I am sure it did. But if \$10,000 of stuff got stolen who cares, it will cost \$1,000,000+++ to have the Unions do what we did in the past few days. There were close to 200 people at our site alone, and some went without sleep for days. And where are all the fucking punks? There is only one kid there who's a punk. I asked him where his friends are and he told they all said they were too tired to come. He dragged his Mom out today to help. I guess I shouldn't expect the fashion punks of today to show up when there is a chance to put their money where their mouth is. They're too worried about the fact that Hot Topic is closed this weekend.

You will probably find this amusing as well - It should come as no surprise that even in a time of tragedy egos are uncontrollable. At the

parking lot outside of Javits Center where we work, people have appointed themselves "managers". I thought they were sent by some city organization, but they were just volunteers like myself. Of course, the managers never lift boxes and they have even set up a "command center" where they do their "work". Meanwhile, the people at Ground Zero are not getting their supplies. These people are in so far over their head it is ridiculous. So the city sent in pros today. And of course the "managers" flipped out. One of the "managers" actually held up her phone and yelled "I'll call the brigadier general, he'll tell you I'm in charge here" while she shoved her cell phone around for all too see. Apparently the coup was successful, she left as did all the other managers. I couldn't be happier.

Down at ground zero the workers asked for as many palettes or plywood we could get them. They are sliding all over the place. So when a lumber company pulls up with a huge flatbed full of lumber I freaked out when the "managers" told them we didn't need it. Of course they have no idea what they need, they've never been down there. But they were more than happy to do five interviews today.

The cops got so pissed they started driving up in city buses that they loaded up with supplies. Some people wouldn't help until the "managers" gave their approval. Good riddance I say. I ignored these morons and the cops started referring to me as the leader of the "black market" - they would pull up to the back gate, tell us what they need and we would just get it, the way it should be. The "managers" never knew - they couldn't see us from their command center.

In the "losing my faith in humanity all over again" category again. One truck that was loaded up the other day drove away and has not been seen since. An ex-fire department chief went down to ground zero and flashed his badge - he was arrested stealing \$3,000 worth of jewelry out of Tourneau. And a total of six people including two cops were arrested at our site today for stealing donations."

September 17th

"Yesterday, on canal street, some of the sweatshop workers were being told to sell shirts that said "World Trade Center: I Survived The Attack". The people selling the shirts barely spoke English, but people were getting really pissed off. The started yelling - "What the fuck do you think this is, an amusement park ride!" It was ugly - the people selling the shirts left, I am sure they came back later. And I am sure there were others all over the city. Of course the guy yelling was wearing a ribbon. I doubt he did anything else.

Yesterday I worked at the McDonalds truck at Ground Zero (yeah, yeah I know McDonalds - but I want to help, and they are the only restaurant down there - Outback is not there as I previously thought - and I had an in so I could help). We served over 14,000 burgers in 9 hours. Never mind McNuggets. Jim, from [dele] who works at [dele], went back up to Javits. We had been going up there together. When I got to ground zero, I asked if there was anything needed and everyone said hard hats. So I called Jim at Javits and told him. He tried to organize a truck to go down, but was told repeatedly that there was no way. The power struggle that had gone on the day before had apparently reached higher heights of stupidity. Some guy who works at the White House, we have no clue what he does there, but he has been showing up every once and a while. He is like a character out of a movie; he constantly smokes, speaks in a whisper, and is always looking past you when he talks to you. He flashed his white house badge whenever there is a dispute. So, he apparently has taken over the Javits site. Since no deliveries were being made yesterday, there was not much garbage. But somehow the Javits trash haulers kept making runs, so finally someone figured it out and stopped them at the gate. When they took off the top level of garbage, the bottom was full of boots, shirts - you name it. So the people working the gate, including Tim called over the Police. The Police basically said there is nothing they could do, the trash haulers work for Javits, if we arrest them Javits shuts this place down. Javits, a city-owned,

Sept 11, volunteer account continued...

tax-payer funded building, will shut down one of the main donation centers for the World Trade Center Tragedy will shut down, if you arrest people who steal from the workers risking their lives at the WTC. What a crock of shit.

Later that day some NYPD officers showed up to get some stuff. They were not going down to the WTC but showed up on their own. I realize they are all working 12 hour shifts, with no days off, and the stuff that is being donated is intended for everyone, including the NYPD, but the orders from the people in charge was that nothing was to leave the site. Now when I was there, I just did it, but not everyone sees things my way. And apparently the people at the gate told them nothing was to leave the site. So the officers got about 10 more and threatened to arrest everyone and close down the Javits donation site, the same threat must be in some training manual. So the White House guys and the cops have a cell phone-pissing match, and the word comes down, let the NYPD take what they want.

By the end of the day, one delivery was made, of about 30 hard hats. Some help.

Down at McDonalds I would take 200 burgers and sodas and walk down to the where all the workers were and ask them if they wanted any. Most people were happy to see us. I was throwing burgers in to the welders who were down in the remains of the WTC. It is just massive the debris. It is unreal. Remember that scene in ET when they discover ET and all those guys in white suits are running around, it's like that. Except there are cops, National Guard, guys in white suits, and welders everywhere. Everything was going well until they found people with cameras sneaking around. After that I needed a police escort. The cops were cool enough with help, but it wasn't as easy anymore.

I dunno if I told you but every time we went down to Ground Zero from the Javits center, we would be swarmed by people with cameras trying to jump on. Yesterday, when the McDonalds van got down to the first checkpoint, I jumped out to speak to the police. Some guy offered me \$500 to sneak him on the van, so he could take pictures. How sick is that.

Also - I am going to start researching an email I want to send. I think it is ridiculous that people like Bill Gates have only donated \$10,000,000. That may seem like a lot, but to a man worth an estimated \$40,000,000,000 - that is pocket change at best. This is a man who donated close to \$5,000,000 (according to Newsweek) to political causes last year. I want to know how much Microsoft gets in Government funds (read: taxpayer money). I am sure it is more than the paltry \$10,000,000 he donated. He may have donated more privately, but if he did, why announce the \$10,000,000? The Backstreet Boys donated a whopping \$10,000. That's \$2,000 per dancing buffoon. They have received more than \$10,000 worth of press for their fabulous donation. And they have the gall to say that the money is going to set up the Backstreet Boys' donation fund. So their money is not going to help anyone, just create a self serving organization so they can pat themselves on the back. Why not just donate the money? They are also thinking about donating some of the proceeds from some upcoming shows. Thanks a lot.

Jennifer Lopez donated \$25,000 so far. She makes an estimated \$10,000,000 - \$15,000,000 a film. Thanks again Jen.

If these people just made anonymous donations then I wouldn't care, but they use this tragedy for their own gain in the name of publicity. Fuck that. If you want credit do something that will actually make a difference. One woman in Syracuse, NY showed up at the local radio station that was collecting donations for the Red Cross (a coalition of 12 stations in Syracuse has raised over \$600,000). She refused to give her name, but since the station was live on the air at the time, the DJ asked the woman for some info. She explained that she was a widow with two young children. Since her mother is now babysitting the kids, she started a savings account and she is donating all her savings, along with her pay check from the past week to the red cross. It was a total of \$2,500. She is a hero. Not the Gates, Lopez and the Backstreet Boys." [end of testimony]

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

So after this email, I see finally in the NY Times something about looting: (NY Times Sept 21, 01) Looting Is Reported in Center's Tomblike Mall

...shops and restaurants in the retail concourse beneath 5 World Trade Center were looted in the wake of last week's disaster, and police detectives are investigating whether rescue workers were responsible.... The looting, which a New York National Guard infantry unit discovered, appears to have begun soon after the fires in the upper stories of the building were extinguished last week, and continued in a less aggressive fashion through Tuesday night or early Wednesday morning of this week.... One level below ground, many retail stores and restaurants, as well as the subway stop there, are intact.... Several officers and soldiers who entered the basement said the thieves who swept through had acted as if they were raiding a tomb. The looters picked through a Tourneau boutique watch store, "They could have been police officers, they could have been firefighters, they could have been contractors or National Guardsmen," said Captain Heintz, who is also a rackets prosecutor in Mr. Morgenthau's office. "It was done with crowbars and heavy equipment and some sharp, blunt objects that were used to smash open big doors and jewelry cases. They were rescue workers of some sort." [end]

Not something the national TV media is going to report in depth while we are all supposedly so 'united' in grief.

☒ ☒ ☒ ☒

No doubt most of us figured that anyone looking 'arab' would be attacked by the many cowardly brainwashed white trolls of the US. It is getting worse as I write this. Even the Mission District, the most mixed neighborhood in the country for 100 years, saw a bag of 'blood' thrown at an office on 16th and Mission with a phone call threat, and an Indian was attacked. His Ausie (!) immigrant friend stuck up for him and was stabbed. Phil, at Gateway on 24th and Folsom is trying to put a back door in his corner store, so they have a 'fire' escape.

NY Times Sept 17, 01, Sikh Owner of Gas Station Is Fatally Shot in Rampage.... "In a shooting rampage on Saturday, a gunman in Arizona fatally shot the Sikh owner of a Chevron gas station, and then, 20 minutes later, shot at but missed a clerk of Lebanese descent at a Mobil station. Soon afterward, he fired several shots

.....

into the home of a family of Afghan descent, but hit no one.....The East Valley Tribune reported that Mr. Roque shouted, "I stand for America all the way," as he was handcuffed.In another killing, a Pakistani Muslim in Dallas, Waqar Hassan, was found fatally shot in his grocery store on Saturday night. The police said that a "considerable amount" of money was left in the cash register, and they could not rule out the possibility it was a revenge killing.In San Gabriel, Calif., where Adelal Karas, 48, an Egyptian Christian was fatally shot at the International Market on Saturday, the police said the family suspected an ethnic motivation. But the police said it looked like a robbery.

Here's a taste of more hate. A threat on the message of Netscapes' discussion board: Subject: RAGHEADSleaveUS Msg # 38164 Date: 9/17/01 6:20:14 PM EDTAuthor: klamp1954..."For some reason, more and more of "so-called" americans, living here are being jumped, anyone surprized ? I SURE THE HELL AM NOT, NEXT WAR STARTS HERE MY FRIENDS !! remember this; "trust not and you won't be disappointed"

{Actually Mr. 'klamp1954' I would be disappointed if during your life some latino, black, native american or arab doesn't reach into your puny caved-in chest to rip out your shriveled little black heart-ts]

(NY Times Sept 22, 01) Some Passengers Singled Out for Exclusion by Flight Crew

...."In San Antonio on Monday, Ashraf Khan, 32, a mobile phone salesman who was trying to get to his brother's wedding in Pakistan, was ordered off a Delta Airlines flight. The plane's captain, Mr. Khan recalled, told him that the flight crew did not "feel safe flying with you.... In Orlando, Fla., on Monday, two businessmen from Pakistan were ordered off a US Airways flight bound for Baltimore. As the businessmen, Akbar Ali and Muhammad Naeem Butt, recalled their long day at the airport, an airline agent told them that the pilot would not take off until they left the aircraft. He then suggested they take a train.In Minneapolis on Thursday, three Middle Eastern-looking men were denied permission to board a Northwest Airlines flight to their home in Salt Lake City. Ticket agents expressed concern, according to a police report, because the men went to the restroom often, looked at their watches and appeared nervous. "

Christ, it makes you want to fly right now, with a tan and turban, just so you can play secret agent. Take a piss often, and look at your watch. With 10 million muslims in the US, considering they are 'all suspects' we would've had every airplane from Tuscaloosa to Anchorage high-jacked in a calendar year. The Fox News Channel is so right wing, that I doubt any of you are watching it, but I did the first day. Early Tuesday afternoon they had Newt Gingrich (an expert!) on to do his bomb them all spiel. In a real representative democracy citizens would be able to quiz this guy on his knowledge on the Middle East.

You think Amy Goodman could ever get a TV discussion with him? The guy is an idiot. But then allowed to spiel about bombing 'rogue states', which translates to all of us,

kill people going to the market to buy some goddamn bread and fruit.....people working irrigation ditches or a city's transport system. Two days later, the blond lady and same guy on Fox were going off at some FAA representative. The fella said, "well shouldn't we be able to forget about racial profiling and just question any arab? I mean, they're the people that are doing this!" The official completely changed the subject, it was such an idiotic question.

On the Attack Noam Chomsky

(circ. on the net days after..)

The terrorist attacks were major atrocities. In scale they may not reach the level of many others, for example, Clinton's bombing of the Sudan with no credible pretext, destroying half its pharmaceutical supplies and killing unknown numbers of people (no one knows, because the US blocked an inquiry at the UN and no one cares to pursue it). Not to speak of much worse cases, which easily come to mind. But that this was a horrendous crime is not in doubt. The primary victims, as usual, were working people: janitors, secretaries, firemen, etc. It is likely to prove to be a crushing blow to Palestinians and other poor and oppressed people. It is also likely to lead to harsh security controls, with many possible ramifications for undermining civil liberties and internal freedom.

The events reveal, dramatically, the foolishness of the project of "missile defense." As has been obvious all along, and pointed out repeatedly by strategic analysts, if anyone wants to cause immense damage in the US, including weapons of mass destruction, they are highly unlikely to launch a missile attack, thus guaranteeing their immediate destruction. There are innumerable easier ways that are basically unstoppable. But today's events will, very likely, be exploited to increase the pressure to develop these systems and put them into place. "Defense" is a thin cover for plans for militarization of space, and with good PR, even the flimsiest arguments will carry some weight among a frightened public.

In short, the crime is a gift to the hard jingoist right, those who hope to use force to control their domains. That is even putting aside the likely US actions, and what they will trigger — possibly more attacks like this one, or worse. The prospects ahead are even more ominous than they appeared to be before the latest atrocities.

As to how to react, we have a choice. We can express justified horror; we can seek to understand what may have led to the crimes, which means making an effort to enter the minds of the likely perpetrators. If we choose the latter course, we can do no better, I think, than to listen to the words of Robert Fisk, whose

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direct knowledge and insight into affairs of the region is unmatched after many years of distinguished reporting. Describing "The wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people," he writes that "this is not the war of democracy versus terror that the world will be asked to believe in the coming days. It is also about American missiles smashing into Palestinian homes and US helicopters firing missiles into a Lebanese ambulance in 1996 and American shells crashing into a village called Qana and about a Lebanese militia paid and uniformed by America's Israeli ally hacking and raping and murdering their way through refugee camps." And much more. Again, we have a choice: we may try to understand, or refuse to do so, contributing to the likelihood that much worse lies ahead. —Noam Chomsky

War Against the Planet

Vijay Prashad

President George W. Bush of the United States appeared on television sets across the world on the 11th of September and declared war against the planet. Not only will those who committed the dreadful crimes of the morning be brought to justice, he declared, but so too will those who once harbored and now continue to harbor them. Supply ships have started their way to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and toward Spain. A large part of the \$40 billion designated by the US Congress will go toward the preparations that have already begun within the US military establishment, in close contact with its allies.

The Taliban, in Afghanistan, quickly pleaded that the suffering of its poor should not be increased with the wrath of the cruise missiles. So did Libya's Gaddafi. Others, such as Pakistan, hastily declared their fealty to the US strike back, and pledged to allow planes to fly over its territory. India was not far behind, eager to allow its land for what may be the largest assault since the bombardment of Cambodia and Iraq. One commentator on the US television networks lamented that the US lost its virginity at 845am on 9/11 when the first plane struck the World Trade Center. But the war did not begin at that time. This was not Pearl Harbor. The war has been ongoing for quite some time now, at least for five decades.

Indeed, five decades ago the United States assumed charge of that band of nations that stretches from Libya to Afghanistan, most of whom are oil rich and therefore immensely important for global capitalism. The civilizational mandate held by France and Britain came to a close when World War II devastated Europe, and it fell to the US to adopt the white man's burden. It did so with glee, indeed on behalf, for the most part, of the Seven Sisters, the largest oil conglomerates in the world (most of them US-based transnational corporations). Alliances forged with right-wing forces in these regions found fellowship from the US, just as the Left fashioned relations with the USSR. The United States participated in the decimation of the Left in north Africa and west Asia, from the destruction of the Egyptian Communist Party, the largest in the region, to the rise of people like Saddam Hussein to take out the vibrant Iraqi Communist Party, and of the Saudi financier Osama bin Laden to take down the Communist Afghan

regime. We hear that 9/11 was the "worst terrorist attack in history," but this ignores the vast history of bombardment, in general, tracked by Sven Lindquist in his new book (for the New Press), and it certainly ignores the many terrorist massacres conducted in the name of the United States, for instance, such as at Hallabja in Iraq or else in South America by Operation Condor. These are just a few examples. But what is that history before 845am on 9/11, and will it show us that "retaliation" misses out the fact that the US has been at war for many decades already?

I. The Afghan Concession.

In 1930, a US State Department "expert" on Afghanistan offered an assessment which forms the backbone of US social attitudes and state policy towards the region: "Afghanistan is doubtless the most fanatic hostile country in the world today." Given this, the US saw Afghanistan simply as a tool in foreign policy terms and as a mine in economic terms. When the Taliban (lit. "religious students") entered Kabul on 27 September 1996, the US state welcomed the development with the hope that the new rulers might bring stability to the region despite the fact that they are notoriously illiberal in social terms. The US media offered a muted and clichéd sense of horror at the social decay of the Taliban, but without any sense of the US hand in the manufacture of such theocratic fascists for its own hegemonic ends. In thirty years, Afghanistan has been reduced to a "concession" in which corporations and states vie for control over commodities and markets without concern for the dignity and destiny of the people of the region. Oil, guns, landmines and heroin are the coordinates for policy-makers, not the shadowy bodies that hang from the scaffolds like paper-flags of a nation without sovereignty.

Shortly after the Taliban took power in Kabul, the US State Department offered the following assessment: "Taliban leaders have announced that Afghans can return to Kabul without fear, and that Afghanistan is the common home of all Afghans," announced spokesperson Glyn Davies. The US felt that the Taliban's assertion in Kabul would allow "an opportunity for a process of reconciliation to begin." Reconciliation was a distant dream as the troops led by the Tajik warlord, Ahmed Shah Masood and the troops led by General Abdul Rashid Dostum and the Hazara-dominated Hezb-e-Wahdat party disturbed the vales of Afghanistan with warfare. Citizens of the advanced industrial states mouthed clichés about "timeless ethnic warfare" and "tribal blood-feuds" without any appreciation of the history of Afghanistan that produced these political conflicts (in much the same way as the media speaks of the Tutsi-Hutu turmoil without a sense of colonial Belgium's role in the production of these politico-ethnic conflicts).

In 1964, King Zahir Shah responded to popular pressure from his subjects with a constitution and initiated a process known as "New Democracy." Three main forces grew after this phase: (1) the communists (who split into two factions in 1967, Khalq [the masses] and Parcham [the flag]); (2) the Islamic populists, among whom Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami from 1973 was the main organization (whose youth leader was the engineering student, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar); (3) constitutional reformers (such as Muhammad Daoud, cousin of Zahir Shah, whose coup of July 1973 abolished the monarchy). Daoud's consequent repression against the theocratic.....

elements pushed them into exile from where they began, along with the Pakistani Jamaat-ul-Islami and the Saudi Rabitat al-Alam al-Islami, to plot against the secular régime in Afghanistan. In 1975, for instance, the theocratic elements, led by Hikmatyar in Paktia, attempted an uprising with Pakistani assistance, but the "Panjsher Valley incident" was promptly squashed. The first split amongst the theocratic elements occurred in the aftermath of this incident. Instability in Afghanistan led to the communist coup in 1978 and the eventual Soviet military presence in the region from 1979. The valiant attempts to create a democratic state failed as a result of the inability of hegemonic states to allow the nation to come into its own.

From 1979, Afghanistan became home to violence and heroin production. Money from the most unlikely sources poured into the band of mujahidin forces located in Pakistan: the US, the Saudis (notably their general intelligence service, al-Istakhbara al-'Ama), the Kuwaitis, the Iraqis, the Libyans and the Iranians paid the theocratic elements over \$1 billion per year during the 1980s. The US-Saudi dominance in funding enabled them to choose amongst the various exiled forces — they, along with the Pakistanis, chose seven parties in 1981 that leaned more towards theocratic fascism than toward secular nationalism. One of the main financiers was the Saudi businessman, Osama bin Laden. Five years later, these seven parties joined the Union of Mujahidin of Afghanistan. Its monopoly over access to the US-Saudi link emboldened it to assassinate Professor Sayd Bahauddin Majrooh in Peshawar in 1988 when he reported that 70% of the Afghan refugees wanted a return to the monarchism of Zahir Shah (who waited in a Roman suburb playing chess). Further, the Interim Islamic Government of Afghanistan called a shura (council) in 1989; the seven parties nominated all the representatives to the body. All liberal and left wing elements came under systematic attack from the shura and its armed representatives. The US-Saudi axis anointed the theocratic fascists as the heirs to Afghanistan.

With over \$1 billion per year, the mujahidin and its Army of Sacrifice (Lashkar-i Isar) led by Hikmatyar (who was considered the main "factor of stability" until 1988) built up ferocious arsenals. In 1986, they received shoulder-fired Stinger missiles that they began to fire indiscriminately into civilian areas of Afghanistan. Asia Watch, in 1991, reported that Hikmatyar paid his commanders for each rocket fired into Kabul. Claymore mines and other US-made anti-personnel directional fragmentation mines became a staple of the countryside. Today, about 10 million mines still litter the vales of Afghanistan (placed there by the Soviets and by the US-Saudi backed mujahidin). In 1993, the US State Department noted that landmines "may be the most toxic and widespread pollution facing mankind." Nevertheless, the US continues to sell mines at \$3/mine (mines cost about \$300-\$1000/mine to detect and dismantle). Motorola manufactures many of the plastic components inside the mines, which makes the device undetectable by metal-detectors.

The CIA learnt to extend its resources during the Southeast Asian campaigns in the 1970s by sale of heroin from the Golden Triangle. In Afghanistan, the Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) [Pakistan's CIA], the Pakistani military and civilian authorities (notably Governor Fazle Huq) and the mujahidin became active cultivators, processors and sellers of heroin (a commodity which made its Southern Asian appearance in large numbers only after 1975, and whose devastation can be gleaned in Mohsin Hamid's wonderful novel, *Moth Smoke*). The opium harvest at the Pakistan-Afghan border doubled between 1982 and 1983 (575 tons), but by the end of the decade it would grow to 800 tons. On 18 June 1986, the New York Times reported that the mujahidin "have been involved in narcotics activities as a matter of policy to finance their operations." The opium warlords worked under cover

of the US-Saudi-Pakistani axis that funded their arms sales and aided the conveyance of the drugs into the European and North American markets where they account for 50% of heroin sales.

Heroin is not the only commodity flogged by the mujahidin. They are the front-line troops of an ensemble that wants "commercial freedom" in Afghanistan so that the Afghan people and land can be utilized for "peaceful" exploitation. The California-based oil company Unocal (76), then busy killing the Karens and other ethnic groups in alliance with the Burmese junta and with the French oil company Total, had its eyes on a pipeline from Central Asia to the Indian Ocean, through Afghanistan. Only with an end to hostilities, at any cost, will the international corporations be able to benefit from the minerals and cheap labor of the Afghans. So far, the corporations have reaped a profit from sales of arms to the Afghans; now they want to use the arms of the Afghans for sweatshops and mines.

For corporations and for corporatized states (such as the US), an unprincipled peace allows them to extract their needs without the bother of political dissent. The Taliban briefly offered the possibility of such a peace. Formed in 1994 under the tutelage of the ISI and General Naseerullah Khan (Pakistan's Interior Minister), the Taliban comprises southern Pashtun tribes who are united by a vision of a society under Wahhabism which extols a form of Islam (Tariqa Muhammadiya) based on its interpretation of the Quran without the benefit of the centuries of elaboration of the complexities of the Islamic tradition. In late September 1996, Radio Kabul broadcast a statement from Mullah Agha Gulabi: "God says that those committing adultery should be stoned to death. Anybody who drinks and says that that is not against the Koran, you have to kill him and hang his body for three days until people say this is the body of the drinker who did not obey the Koran and Allah's order." The Taliban announced that women must be veiled and that education would cease to be available for women. Najmussahar Bangash, editor of *Tole Pashtun*, pointed out shortly thereafter that there are 40,000 war widows in Kabul alone and their children will have a hard time with their subsistence. Further, she wrote, "if girls are not allowed to study, this will affect a whole generation." For the US-Saudi-Unocal-Pakistan axis, geo-politics and economics make the Taliban a worthy regime for Afghanistan. Drugs, weapons and social brutalities will continue, but Washington extended a warm hand towards Mullah Mohammed Omar and the Taliban. US foreign policy is driven by the dual modalities of containment (of rebellion inspired by egalitarianism) and concession (of goods which will bring profit to corporate entities). Constrained by these parameters, the US government was able to state, in 1996, "there's on the face of it nothing objectionable at this stage."

Certainly, on 10 October 1996, the State Department revised its analysis of the Taliban on the basis of sustained pressure from Human Rights and women's groups in the advanced industrial states as well as pressure from the conferences held by Iran (at which numerous regional nations, such as India participated). In conflict with its earlier statement, the US declared "we do not see the Taliban as the savior of Afghanistan. We never really welcomed them." The main reason offered for this was the Taliban's "uniquely discriminatory manner" with women. The US state department would have done well to mention the heroic attempt made by the communist regime to tackle the "woman question." In late 1978, the regime of Nur Mohammad Taraki, President of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan, promulgated Decree no. 7 which aimed at a transformation of the marriage institution by attacking its monetary basis and which promoted equality between men and women. Women took leadership positions in the regime and fought social conservatives

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and theological fascists on various issues. Anahita Ratebzad was a major Marxist leader who sat on the Revolutionary Council; other notable leaders included Sultana Umayd, Suraya, Ruhafza Kamyar, Firouza, Dilara Mark, Professor R. S. Siddiqui, Fawjiyah Shahsawari, Dr. Aziza, Shirin Afzal and Alamat Tolqun. Ratebzad wrote the famous Kabul Times editorial (28 May 1978) which declared that "Privileges which women, by right, must have are equal education, job security, health services, and free time to rear a healthy generation for building the future of the country....Educating and enlightening women is now the subject of close government attention." The hope of 1978 is now lost and the pessimism must not be laid at the feet of the Taliban alone, but also of those who funded and supported the Taliban-like theocratic fascists, states such as the US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

The real reason for the US frustration with the Taliban was its recalcitrance toward global capitalism (as an example, the Unocal scheme fell apart). The Taliban, created by many social forces, but funded by the Saudis (such as bin Laden) and the CIA, was now in the saddle in the center of Asia, and it soon became a haven for disgruntled and alienated young men who wanted to take out their wrath on the US rather than fight against the contradictions of global capital. Bin Laden, the CIA asset, became the fulcrum of many of their inchoate fears and angers.

II. Oil, Guns and Saddam.

During the Gulf War of 1991, a decade ago, the US-Europe discovered the Kurds for a few years. The Kurds and the Kuwaitis provided the war aims for the Alliance, since we kept hearing how Saddam Hussein's armies had exploited both. Oil is not the reason, we were repeatedly told; we are only concerned for the ordinary people of the region oppressed by these madmen, such as Saddam Hussein, Hafez al-Assad and the Ayatollahs. We heard little about the recently closed Iran-Iraq war, about the various contradictions in the region, indeed about the role of the US-Europe for several decades in the fabrication of the regimes that ruled here. As the cruise missiles fell on Iraq, we did not then hear that the first major aerial bombardment in modern times took place in December 1923 when the Royal Air Force pummeled the rebellious Kurds (they felt the wrath of the guns again in March 1924, not being disciplined firmly enough by Headmaster Britain).

In 1932 the British put in place the puppet royal dynasty, the al-Saud family to rule the Arabian Peninsula as Saudi Arabia. This regime was to protect the "interests" of global capitalism, particularly after oil was discovered there in the early 1930s. The British put King Faisal over the newly created Iraq, a Sunni leader over a predominantly Shi'ite land. Workers movements in the region came under attack from these regimes, many of which violently crushed democratic dissent in the name of the dollar. Henry Kissinger was later to create political theory of a policy that had been long in the works: that the US should lock arms with any political leader who will resist the will of socialism, who will ensure that international capitalism's dictates be maintained and who can therefore be a "factor of stability." The rogue gallery of this policy includes a host of CIA assets, such as the Noreiga, Marcos, Pinochet, Suharto, the Shah of Iran, the various Gulf Sheikhs, and latterly such fundamentalist friends as the BJP in India. Even when some of these leaders flirted with the Soviets (Saddam and al-Assad), their usefulness to US policy prevented a break in their links to the CIA, mainly to contain domestic left-wing dissent. The Ayatollah may have been a natural asset, but his regime was stamped by a radical and

patriarchially egalitarian Shi'ism that terrified the Oil Kingdoms, whose tenuous rule was now bolstered even further by the armies of the imperial powers and their proxy state at this time, Iraq. When the Iran-Iraq war broke out, people spoke of it as a sectarian war between Shias and Sunnis, but few pointed out that Iraq has a large Shia population and that Iraq fought primarily with the backing of the US and its alliance to "contain" the Iranian revolution and the rule of the Mullahs. Saddam, then, was friend not foe.

During these years, no one mentioned the Kurds. For decades the communist movement grew amongst the Kurds, both in Turkey and in northern Iraq. But by the early 1970s, the CIA entered the battlefield to cut down the left and bolster the right. Between 1972 and 1975 the CIA paid \$16 million to the eccentric and untrustworthy Mullah Mustafa Barzani as a "moral guarantee" of US support for this activities. In 1959, Barzani had expelled the communists from his mainly Iraqi party and he had sent Iranian Kurds to their death in the camps of the Shah. Barzani was an asset that the US cultivated, and is now a close ally of Saddam Hussein, another US asset. In 1975, Marxist-Leninists within the Kurdish resistance formed the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which pushed many Kurds to the Left, including those in the Iraqi Kurdish Front formed in 1988. Saddam Hussein was given the green light by Washington to take out the PUK, and he conducted chemical bombing on them in 1983 (at Arbil) and most spectacularly in 1988 (at Halabja, where five thousand died, and many thousand continue to suffer). The outrage of Halabja created a momentary stir in the Left media, but nothing was done then because Saddam was a US ally and asset - it returned to do ideological work during the Gulf War. As many died at Halabja as on 9/11, but their death does not factor in when NPR announces that 9/11 was the "worst terrorist attack in history." When terror is conducted in our name, then it is not terror but "retaliation."

III. Revenge or Justice?

President Bush promises to get those who did the bombings in New York and Washington, but he also promises that those who harbor them will feel the wrath of the US. This is the most dangerous statement so far. Not only does it violate all manner of international laws, it ignores the fact that the US has harbored these criminals for years, mainly at the expense of the global Left. Saddam and bin Laden are products of the US, even as they, like Frankenstein's beast, turn against their master now. The lesson is not to continue the madness, to go after the symptom with \$40 billion of firepower. The lesson, for all democratic minded people, is to undermine the basis of our global insecurity.

First those people who did the horrendous deed on 9/11 must be found, arrested and brought to trial. The path of justice should not be short-circuited by the emotions of the moment.

Second, our fight in the US continues, as we continue to point out that US foreign policy engenders these acts of barbarism by its own desire to set-up strong-arm "factors of stability" in those zones of raw materials and markets that must be subservient to US corporate interests. Vast areas of anger, zones of resentment will continue to emerge - this is not the way forward. Another indiscriminate bombardment will bring forth more body bags for the innocent. History shows us that the US was not innocent on 9/11, even as thousands of innocent people died. We should not confuse these two things: the terrorists made no distinction between those who conduct political and economic terror over their lives, between a regime that they dislike, corporate interests that they revile and innocent people who live in the same spaces. The terror of the frustrated works alongside the terror of the behemoth to undermine the powerful and democratic urges of the people. Both of those terrors must be condemned.

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More Chomsky...

An interview from ZNET, the website of
Z Magazine.

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1. Do you condemn terrorism? How can we decide which act is terrorism and which one is an act of resistance of a desperate nation against a tyrant or an occupying force? In which of the previous categories do you "classify" the recent strike against usa?

I understand the term "terrorism" exactly in the sense defined in official US documents: "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or ideological in nature. This is done through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear." In accord with this — entirely appropriate — definition, the recent attack on the us is certainly an act of terrorism, in fact, a horrifying terrorist crime. There is scarcely any disagreement about this throughout the world, nor should there be.

But alongside the literal meaning of the term, as just quoted from us official documents, there is also a propagandistic usage, which unfortunately is the standard one: the term "terrorism" is used to refer to terrorist acts committed by enemies against us or our allies. Political scientist Michael Stohl is quite correct when he writes that "we must recognize that by convention — and it must be emphasized only by convention — great power use and the threat of the use of force is normally described as coercive diplomacy and not as a form of terrorism," though it commonly involves "the threat and often the use of violence for what would be described as terrorist purposes were it not great powers who were pursuing the very same tactic."

This propagandistic use is virtually universal. Everyone "condemns terrorism," in this sense of the term. The Nazis harshly condemned terrorism, and carried out counter-terrorism against the terrorist partisans — in Greece, for example. The US basically agreed. It organized and conducted similar "counter-terrorism" in Greece and elsewhere in the postwar years. Furthermore, us counterinsurgency programs drew quite explicitly from the Nazi model, which was treated with respect: Wehrmacht officers were consulted and their manuals were used in designing postwar counterinsurgency programs worldwide, typically called "counter-terrorism."

Given these conventions, even the very same people and actions can quickly shift from "terrorists" to "freedom fighters" and back again. That's been happening right next door to Greece in recent years. The klan were officially condemned by the us as "terrorists" in 1998, because of their attacks on Serb police and civilians in an effort to elicit a disproportionate and brutal Serbian response, as they openly declared. As late as January 1999, the British — the most hawkish element in nato on this matter — believed that the klan were responsible for more deaths than

Serbia, which is hard to believe, but at least tells us something about perceptions at high levels in nato. If one can trust the voluminous documentation provided by the state department, Nato,

the OCSE, and other western sources, nothing materially changed on the ground until the withdrawal of the klan monitors and the bombing in late march 1999. But policies did change: the us and UK decided to launch an attack on Serbia, and the "terrorists" instantly became "freedom fighters." after the war, they became "terrorists," "thugs," and "murderers" as they carried out similar actions in Macedonia, a us ally.

Everyone condemns terrorism, but we have to ask what they mean. You can find the answer to your question about my views in many books and articles that i have written about terrorism in the past several decades, though i use the term in the literal sense, and hence condemn all terrorist actions, not only those that are called "terrorist" for propagandistic reasons.

It should be unnecessary to point out that massive terrorism is a standard device of powerful states, just as Stohl observes. Some cases are not even controversial. Take the us war against Nicaragua, leaving tens of thousands dead and the country in ruins. Nicaragua appealed to the world court, which condemned the us for international terrorism ("the unlawful use of force"), ordering it to desist and pay substantial reparations. The us responded to the court ruling by sharply escalating the war, and vetoing a security council resolution calling on all states to observe international law. The escalation included official orders to attack "soft targets" — undefended civilian targets, like agricultural collectives and health clinics — and to avoid the Nicaraguan army. The terrorists were able to carry out these instructions, thanks to the completely control of Nicaraguan air space by the us and the advanced communications equipment provided to them by their supervisors.

It should also be recognized that these terrorist actions were widely approved. One prominent commentator, Michael Kinsley, at the liberal extreme of the mainstream, argued that we should not simply dismiss state department justifications for terrorist attacks on "soft targets": a "sensible policy" must "meet the test of cost-benefit analysis," an analysis of "the amount of blood and misery that will be poured in, and the likelihood that democracy will emerge at the other end" — "democracy" as the US understands the term, an interpretation illustrated quite clearly in the region. It is taken for granted that US elites have the right to conduct the analysis and pursue the project if it passes their tests. When the terrorist project succeeded, and Nicaragua succumbed, Americans were "united in joy," the New York Times proclaimed, knowing full well how the goal was achieved. As Time magazine put it joyfully, the methods were to "wreck the economy and prosecute a long and deadly proxy war until the exhausted natives overthrow the unwanted government themselves," with a cost to us that is "minimal," leaving the victim "with wrecked bridges, sabotaged power stations, and ruined farms," and thus providing the us candidate with "a winning issue": ending the "impoverishment of the people of Nicaragua." euphoria over the achievement was unconstrained among elites.

But the US terrorist war was not "terrorism," it was "counter-terrorism" by doctrinal standards. And us standards prevail in much of the world, as a result of us power and the cost of defying it. This is by no means the most extreme example; i mention it because it is uncontroversial, given the world court decision, and because the failed efforts of nicaragua to pursue lawful means, instead of setting off bombs in washington, provide a model for today, not the only one.

2. There are (in the light of the recent terrorist attack) a lot of debate and controversy here in Greece (and i suppose in other countries) that in the wholeness of human history, there had not been a single superpower with ethics. Many analysts, historians, politicians and intellectuals claim that superpowers, nations,

states and all the other human institutes are interested only in becoming bigger, stronger. In other words, power and authority have nothing to do with values, ethics and ideas. They have only to do with more power, more money, much greater force, and much greater authority. Do you believe that? Do we have an historic example of an empire, a state, a superpower that dealt with the rest of the world and the citizens having in mind human values?

I am frankly surprised that there is even a debate. States are not moral agents. They are systems of power, which respond to the internal distribution of power. Human beings, however, are moral agents, and can impose significant constraints on the violence of their own states, particularly in societies that are more free. They may fail to do so; the international behavior of classical Athens was hardly delightful, to mention one case, and we need not speak of the examples of modern history. But they can do so, and often do. Of course, virtually every system of power describes itself as deeply humane and pursuing the highest values, and a primary task of elite intellectuals is to lead the chorus of self-acclaim, as they commonly do. That is another story, which should be just as familiar, right up to the present moment. I have two recent books reviewing how "the herd of independent minds" (Harold Rosenberg's apt description of intellectual elites) fulfilled their function in the past few years, perhaps establishing new records in disgracing the intellectual vocation.

3. It is obvious that American politicians and intelligence officers know many things that we don't about this tragedy. In many cases we will hear half-true facts and straightforward lies. I've read in many articles and book of yours that when a politician tells a lie, in a short time he comes to believe it! (forgive me for not quoting you exactly). A) how can we explain this attitude? B) which do you think that are the biggest lies and half true facts we heard until now for this tragedy?

I have to disagree. I doubt that US intelligence knows much that others cannot discover. That is quite commonly the case, as we learn from a rich record of declassified documents, and the record of history as well. But public officials, and the obedient chorus, are not expected to tell the truth about what they know. Rather, they are supposed to proclaim that we were targeted because of our magnificence: "they hate us because we champion a 'new world order' of capitalism, individualism, secularism and democracy that should be the norm everywhere" (respected liberal intellectual Ronald Steel, ny times, sept. 14).

Anyone who pays minimal attention to the facts knows that the reasons are quite different, not only among the terrorist networks that the CIA helped to organize, arm, train and nurture for a holy war against the Russians, but even among wealthy, privileged, and pro-American sectors of the population. The same day, the wall street journal published a review of opinions of "moneyed Muslims" in the region: bankers, professionals, businessmen. They expressed dismay and anger about us support for harsh authoritarian states and the barriers that Washington places against independent development and political democracy by its policies of "propping up oppressive regimes." their primary concern, however, was Washington's twin policies of support for Israel's harsh and brutal military occupation and devastation of the civilian society of Iraq, with hundreds of thousands of deaths, while strengthening Saddam Hussein — who they know very well received strong support from Washington and London through the period of his worst atrocities, including the gassing of the Kurds and beyond. Among the great mass of poor and suffering people, similar sentiments are much more bitter, and they are also hardly pleased to see the wealth of the

region flow to the west and to small western-oriented elites and corrupt and brutal rulers backed by western power.

Bin Laden has issued the same charges — just a few days ago once again, in a long interview on the only independent Arab radio channel, rebroadcast by bbc. He and his associates, however, have other goals: in their words, driving "foreign invaders" out of Muslim lands, replacing the corrupt and repressive regimes by true "Islamic" ones, and defending Muslims fighting for their rights in Chechnya, Bosnia, Kashmir, western china, the Philippines, and elsewhere. All of this they see as a continuation of the holy war against the Russians that they fought with the support of the CIA, Saudi Arabia, and others who they regard as enemies of Islam.

4. We see that, nowadays, the value of human life is getting... depreciated rapidly. Do you think that this phenomenon will continue to scale? The US government (and the western world in general) does consider human life as a valuable "asset"?

Again, I do not agree. What was the value of human life throughout the whole history of European imperialism? For example, when the US was expanding to its national borders, overcoming "that hapless race of Native Americans, which we are exterminating with such merciless and perfidious cruelty," to quote president John Quincy Adams, long after his own substantial contributions to the enterprise he came to regret, but before further inglorious exploits. What was the value of human life when king Leopold of Belgium killed 10 million Congolese? Or when 1/3 of the population of Germany was killed in one 17th century war, not to speak of more recent examples? In fact we can go back as far as we like. Everyone is, or should be, familiar with the exaltation of genocide in the holiest books of western civilization.

5. Now, as far as this strike against Manhattan and the pentagon is concerned. How do you judge the coverage of the tragedy by the US media? How do you comment on the explanation given by many us media that "the terrorists struck USA because they hate western values (civil liberties, tolerance, welfare, etc).

The second question we can simply dismiss. It is self-serving nonsense, and its purveyors surely know that, at least if they have any familiarity the current history, including the middle east. Naturally, these are convenient pretenses, which serve to deflect attention from the actual grievances expressed even by the most pro-western elements in the middle east, as is "well-known" (in the words of the wall street journal article i quoted).

As for the media, we have to ask how they dealt with the basic questions that arise in the case of crimes, small or horrendous: who was responsible? What should the response be? Why did it happen? There has been virtually no discussion of any of these questions. The request of the Arab league, China, even nato that the us present credible evidence is dismissed as an absurdity, and in the case of the Taliban, further evidence of their criminality. The us will produce a white paper, which perhaps will be accepted by its allies, though the evidence is hardly likely to be more persuasive than it was after earlier terrorist bombings attributed to these terrorist networks — probably correctly, but judgments are not evidence. As for what should be done, there is virtually no discussion of the lawful course that was pursued by Nicaragua, among others: when our leaders call for violence, we must applaud their courage and integrity. As for why, apart from a few exceptions like the wall street journal, several times, there is very little in the mainstream.

6. What do you think is: a) best case scenario. B) worst case scenario. C) the most probable scenario.

The proper reaction is to pursue the lawful course: Nicaragua is hardly the only precedent — and bear in mind that the terrorist attack it suffered was far more destructive even than the September 11 crimes. To take another case, what was the right way for Britain to deal with IRA bombs in London? One choice would have been to send the RAF to bomb the source of their finances, places like Boston, where I live. Putting aside feasibility, that would have been criminal idiocy. Another possibility was to consider realistically the background concerns and grievances, and to try to remedy them, while at the same time following the rule of law to punish criminals. Or take the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. There were immediate calls for bombing the middle east, and it probably would have been done if even a remote hint of a link had been found. When the perpetrator was found to be someone with links to the ultra-right militias, there was no call to obliterate Texas, Montana, Idaho and other places where the militias are located. Rather, the perpetrator was found, brought to court and sentenced, and to the extent that the reaction was sensible, there were efforts to understand the grievances that lie behind such crimes and to address the problems. Just about every crime — whether a robbery in the streets or colossal atrocities — has reasons, and commonly we find that some of them are serious and should be addressed. At least, that is the course we follow if we have any concern for right and justice, and hope to reduce the likelihood of further atrocities rather than increase it. The same principles hold quite generally. Specifically, they hold in this case.

The worst case scenario would be to carry out a massive assault that would kill many innocent people — in Afghanistan, not Taliban but their victims. Apart from the crime itself, that would answer bin Laden's prayers, as foreign leaders, specialists on the region, and probably US intelligence agencies are advising Washington: it would serve to rally many angry and desperate people to his horrendous cause, and to escalate the cycle of violence, with outcomes that could be catastrophic.

Even if bin Laden is killed, such an assault would be likely to have that effect: he would become a martyr, and his voice would resound all over the Arabic-speaking world, on the thousands of cassettes that are already circulating.

7. What do you believe that was the most hideous terrorist act in history?

It is impossible to answer. It depends which crimes we decide to call "terrorism," and what time scale we select.

8. What do you think motivated the terrorists to commit such a crime? The "enemy" was in the twin towers in Manhattan, in the pentagon or somewhere else? Where was the real enemy?

As I've said, we have every reason to take them at their word. And their word is very clear, as their deeds have been, for 20 years, when the radical Islamic forces that were organized by the CIA, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and others, carried out their first attack against their creators, assassinating president Sadat of Egypt, one of the most enthusiastic of these.

9. Who do you believe that did it? Was he Osama bin Laden?

I presume that the source is the terrorist networks that are loosely associated with bin Laden, but we have no credible evidence about bin Laden's direct involvement; that includes, I presume, US intelligence, which monitors these organizations closely

and understand them intimately from their origins in US-initiated operations in Afghanistan. These are decentralized, apparently non-hierarchical structures, extremely hard to penetrate, which is why they could carry out such a shocking atrocity without the world's intelligence systems knowing a thing about it.

12. You agree to the estimation that "in 9/11/2001 the world changed?"

Undoubtedly. The history of modern Europe and its North American offshoot is one of carrying out shocking crimes against others — or mutual slaughter, as in the American civil war or Europe's wars. This is the first time that the guns have been pointed in the opposite direction, at least on any significant scale. The Congo did not attack Belgium, or India England, or Algeria France, or Mexico or the Philippines the United States. The atrocities of September 11 were unique, not — regrettably — in scale, but in the target.

13. Which do you believe that will happen to countries (such as Greece) and the Balkans in general? We read many times that bin Laden has many links with KLA and ethnic Albanians guerillas. Do you think that Greece (and by extension the Olympic games 2004) is in danger of terrorist attacks, guerilla warfare and generally consequences that will force the Greek government to postpone or call off the Olympic games?

That is unpredictable, but it is likely to be affected by the course that the US and its allies pursue right now. If they answer bin Laden's prayers, then the likelihood of further atrocities is increased.

14. Is Islam dangerous to the western civilization or the western way of life consists a threat to mankind?

The question is too broad and vague for me to answer. It should be clear, however, that the US does not regard Islam as an enemy, or conversely. The world's most populous Muslim state, Indonesia, has been a US favorite since the army took power in 1965, organizing a slaughter that the CIA compared to the crimes of Hitler, Stalin, and Mao, and eliciting unconstrained euphoria in the west, which continued to support the mass murderer who was in charge as he compiled one of the most awful human rights records of the late 20th century. The most extreme Islamic fundamentalist state, apart from its Taliban offshoot, is Saudi Arabia, a US client since its origins. In the Balkans, for reasons we cannot explore here, the US chose to support Muslims against Christians. In the 1980s, a prime target of the US terrorist wars in Central America, which left hundreds of thousands of corpses and four countries in ruins, was the Catholic church, which had committed the grievous sin of adopting "the preferential option for the poor." The "western way of life" includes a great variety of elements, many highly admirable, many adopted with enthusiasm in the Islamic world, many criminal and even a threat to human survival. As for "western civilization," perhaps we can heed the words attributed to Gandhi when asked what he thought about "western civilization": he said that it might be a good idea.

Chomsky bothers to answer Christopher Hitchens.

Excerpts from a mid-September Nation column by
CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

....."But straight away, we meet people who complain at once that this enemy is us, really. Did we not aid the grisly Taliban to achieve and hold power? Yes indeed "we" did. Well, does this not double or triple our responsibility to remove them from power? A sudden sheep-like silence, broken by a bleat.The figure of six-and-a-half thousand murders in New York is almost the exact equivalent to the total uncovered in the death-pits of Srebrenica. (Even at Srebrenica, the demented General Ratko Mladic agreed to release all the women, all the children, all the old people and all the males above and below military age before ordering his squads to fall to work.) On that occasion, US satellites flew serenely overhead recording the scene, and Milosevic earned himself an invitation to Dayton, Ohio. But in the end, after appalling false starts and delays, it was found that Milosevic was too much. He wasn't just too nasty. He was also too irrational and dangerous. He didn't even save himself by lyingly claiming, as he several times did, that Osama bin Laden was hiding in Bosnia. It must be said that by this, and by other lies and numberless other atrocities, Milosevic distinguished himself as an enemy of Islam. His national-socialist regime took the line on the towel-heads [whoooooal-ed] that the Bush Administration is only accused, by fools and knaves, of taking. Yet when a stand was eventually mounted against Milosevic, it was Noam Chomsky and Sam Hussein, among many others, who described the whole business as a bullying persecution of—the Serbs!

I have no hesitation in describing this mentality, carefully and without heat, as soft on crime and soft on fascism. No political coalition is possible with such people and, I'm thankful to say, no political coalition with them is now necessary. It no longer matters what they think."

Reply to Hitchens, printed in mid-September Nation Magazine

by **NOAM CHOMSKY**

I have been asked to respond to recent Nation articles by Christopher Hitchens (website, September 24; magazine, Oct. 8), and after refusing several times, will do so, though only partially, and reluctantly. The reason for the reluctance is that Hitchens cannot mean what he is saying. For that reason alone—there are others that should be obvious—this is no proper context for addressing serious issues relating to the September 11 atrocities.

That Hitchens cannot mean what he writes is clear, in the first place, from his reference to the bombing of Sudan. He must be unaware that he is expressing such racist contempt for African victims of a terrorist crime, and cannot intend

what his words imply. This single atrocity destroyed half the pharmaceutical supplies of a poor African country and the facilities for replenishing them, with an enormous human toll. Hitchens is outraged that I compared this atrocity to what I called "the wickedness and awesome cruelty" of the terrorist attacks of September 11 (quoting Robert Fisk), adding that the actual toll in the Sudan case can only be surmised, because the United States blocked any UN inquiry and few were interested enough to pursue the matter. That the toll is dreadful is hardly in doubt.

Hitchens is apparently referring to a response I wrote to several journalists on September 15, composite because inquiries were coming too fast for individual response. This was apparently posted several times on the web, as were other much more detailed

subsequent responses. In the brief message Hitchens may have seen, I did not elaborate, assuming—correctly, judging by subsequent interchanges with many respondents—that it was unnecessary: The recipients would understand why the comparison is quite appropriate. I also took for granted that they would understand a virtual truism: When we estimate the human toll of a crime, we count not only those who were literally murdered on the spot but those who died as a result, the course we adopt reflexively, and properly, when we consider the crimes of official enemies—Stalin, Hitler and Mao, to mention the most extreme cases. If we are even pretending to be serious, we apply the same standards to ourselves: In the case of Sudan, we count the number who died as a direct consequence of the crime, not just those killed by cruise missiles. Again, a truism.

Since there is one person who does not appear to understand, I will add a few quotes from the mainstream press, to clarify. A year after the attack, "without the lifesaving medicine [the destroyed facilities] produced, Sudan's death toll from the bombing has continued, quietly, to rise.... Thus, tens of thousands of people—many of them children—have suffered and died from malaria, tuberculosis, and other treatable diseases.... [The factory] provided affordable medicine for humans and all the locally available veterinary medicine in Sudan. It produced 90 percent of Sudan's major pharmaceutical products.... Sanctions against Sudan make it impossible to import adequate amounts of medicines required to cover the serious gap left by the plant's destruction.... the action taken by Washington on Aug. 20, 1998, continues to deprive the people of Sudan of needed medicine. Millions must wonder how the International Court of Justice in The Hague will celebrate this anniversary" (Jonathan Belke, Boston Globe, August 22, 1999).

"The loss of this factory is a tragedy for the rural communities who need these medicines" (Tom Carnaffin, technical manager with "intimate knowledge" of the destroyed plant. Ed Vulliamy et al., London Observer, August 23, 1998). The plant "provided 50 percent of Sudan's medicines, and its destruction has left the country with no supplies of chloroquine, the standard treatment for malaria," but months later, the British Labour government refused requests "to resupply chloroquine in emergency relief until such time as the Sudanese can rebuild their pharmaceutical production" (Patrick Wintour, Observer, December 20, 1998).

And much more.

Proportional to population, this is as if the bin Laden network, in a single attack on the United States, caused “hundreds of thousands of people—many of them children—to suffer and die from easily treatable diseases,” though the analogy is unfair because a rich country, not under sanctions and denied aid, can easily replenish its stocks and respond appropriately to such an atrocity—which, I presume, would not have passed so lightly. To regard the comparison to September 11 as outrageous is to express extraordinary racist contempt for African victims of a shocking crime, which, to make it worse, is one for which we are responsible: as taxpayers, for failing to provide massive reparations, for granting refuge and immunity to the perpetrators, and for allowing the terrible facts to be sunk so deep in the memory hole that some, at least, seem unaware of them.

This only scratches the surface. The United States bombing “appears to have shattered the slowly evolving move towards compromise between Sudan’s warring sides” and terminated promising steps toward a peace agreement to end the civil war that had left 1.5 million dead since 1981, which might have also led to “peace in Uganda and the entire Nile Basin.” The attack apparently “shattered...the expected benefits of a political shift at the heart of Sudan’s Islamist government” toward a “pragmatic engagement with the outside world,” along with efforts to address Sudan’s domestic crises,” to end support for terrorism, and to reduce the influence of radical Islamists (Mark Huband, *Financial Times*, September 8, 1998).

Insofar as these consequences ensued, we may compare the crime in Sudan to the assassination of Lumumba, which helped plunge the Congo into decades of slaughter, still continuing; or the overthrow of the democratic government of Guatemala in 1954, which led to forty years of hideous atrocities; and all too many others like it. One can scarcely try to estimate the colossal toll of the Sudan bombing, even apart from the probable tens of thousands of immediate Sudanese victims. The complete toll is attributable to the single act of terror—at least, if we have the honesty to adopt the standards we properly apply to official enemies.

Evidently, Hitchens cannot mean what he said about this topic. We can therefore disregard it. To take another example, Hitchens writes that I referred to the “the whole business [of the 1999 Kosovo war] as a bullying persecution of—the Serbs!” As he knows, this is sheer fabrication. The reasons for the war that I suggested were quoted from the highest-level official US justifications for it, including National Security Adviser Sandy Berger and the final summary presented to Congress by Secretary of Defense William Cohen. We can therefore also disregard what Hitchens has to say about this topic.

As a final illustration, consider Hitchens’s fury over the “masochistic e-mail...circulating from the Chomsky-Zinn-Finkelstein quarter,” who joined such radical rags as the *Wall Street Journal* in what he calls “rationalizing” terror—that is, considering the grievances expressed by people of the Middle East region, rich to poor, secular to Islamist, the course that would be followed by anyone who hopes to reduce the likelihood of further atrocities rather than simply to escalate the cycle of violence, in the familiar dynamics, leading to even greater catastrophes here and elsewhere. This is an outrage, Hitchens explains, because “I know

already” about these concerns—a comment that makes sense on precisely one assumption: that the communications were addressed solely to Hitchens. Without further comment, we can disregard his fulminations on these topics.

In one charge, Hitchens is correct. He writes that “the crime [in Sudan] was directly and sordidly linked to the effort by a crooked President to avoid impeachment (a conclusion sedulously avoided by the Chomskys and Husseinis of the time).” It’s true that I have sedulously avoided this speculation, and will continue to do so until some meaningful evidence is provided; and have also sedulously avoided the entire obsession with Clinton’s sex life. From the rest, it may be possible to disentangle some intended line of argument, but I’m not going to make the effort, and fail to see why others should. Since Hitchens evidently does not take what he is writing seriously, there is no reason for anyone else to do so. The fair and sensible reaction is to treat all of this as some aberration, and to await the return of the author to the important work that he has often done in the past.

In the background are issues worth addressing. But in some serious context, not this one.

→ → → → → → →

Editor’s note: Hitchens is a great writer with a resolute grasp of history and power politics. But his support for the bombing of Serbia and Kosovo was irrational, and his justifications later denied even by the *NY Times* facts (Dec 200- *Times* admits very few mass graves found and perhaps nearly as many dead Serbs by hands of KLA and by bombing—KLA in Kosovo armed by US now attacking Macedonia...various *Times* articles from summer 2001). Also rarely noted in the liberals’ Bomb Serbia positions of that time, is that from the early 90’s there were massive demonstrations throughout the country to demand democracy and the overthrow of Milosevic. The final overthrow was achieved by the ballot box and most importantly by a general strike of miners, workers, students; not by the US bombing. For this reason, and his now hysterical denunciation of writers such as Pilger and others, for trying to put fascist terrorists within a context of history, I can never again trust one of my past favorite writers: Hitchens.

Chomsky as usual is clear-headed, stands on his easily researchable record of views (for people like Hitchens anyway, perhaps not for the 100,000 *Nation* readers who don’t have a Chomsky history and library), and reminds us all, that terror is terror. And any retaliation by the US military is bound to be just that....terror on workers. Go to *Z Magazine*’s website for other replies by Albert and Herman....and then a really scattered confusing second Hitchen’s attack.

Hitchens' Slurs

By John Pilger

<http://www.johnpilger.com>

The Guardian in London has apologized to playwright Harold Pinter and myself for smears by Christopher Hitchens, the Washington-based commentator. Hitchens wrote in the Guardian on September 26 that Pinter and I supported "that renowned Muslim-hater Slobodan Milosevic" In the same article he wrote that if one of the hijacked aircraft had crashed into the Capitol or White House, "I would be ... reading Pinter and Pilger on how my neighborhood had been asking for it."

Neither Pinter nor I have written any such thing. Hitchens immediately apologized to Pinter (UK Guardian letters September 28), saying he had been "informed that Harold Pinter had made an incautious statement in the wake of September" and that he had tried unsuccessfully to have the reference deleted before publication. He maintained that he did not misrepresent me. But when two Guardian editors combed all my recent work, including a column cited by Hitchens, they found nothing to back up his smears. In fact, I attacked Milosevic during and in the aftermath of the Nato bombing of Yugoslavia (see my Guardian and New Statesman columns for 1999 on <http://www.johnpilger.com>). As for the September 11 atrocities, I wrote in the Guardian on September 21: "Nothing justifies the killing of innocent people in America, and nothing justifies the killing of innocent people anywhere else."

Hitchens is, of course, entitled to his opinions, which have included calling the critics of US policy soft on "fascists." But he is not entitled to fabricate, no matter how urgent his need to smear those with whom he disagrees.
October 5, 2001

(Pilger is a UK journalist, an author of Hidden Agendas among many other books, and a docu-filmmaker)

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SF Chronicle writer Peter Sussman began reprinting articles from Dannie Martin, a prisoner, in the late 80's. He acted as his editor and contact. The articles and letters edited culminated in "Committing Journalism, The Prison Writings of Red Hog". The book was published in 1993. Since then, as the last few chapters of Dannie's writing forewarn, the prison system has become more inhumane, and blossomed into a gulag housing 2 million workers, over double the population just ten years ago. The use of drugs to incapacitate, mentally incapacitating isolation, and frequent exposure to torture has only increased. The prison guards union in California is one of the biggest donors to both law and order Democrats and Republicans and to all ballot propositions that increase mandatory sentencing, and ones that make crimes upgraded to felonies (prop 21). The "Squirrel Story" is the most famous of them all, which appeared in the SF Chronicle's Sunday Punch section. These days, with SHU's and constant bouts of lockdown, non-access to prisons by journalists, and the three strikes laws creating men with no hope.... "Committing Journalism" almost reads like a more humane past history except for this chapter.....

16 DAYS OF HORROR IN 10 BUILDING

by Dannie Martin

Phoenix, ARIZ. (MARCH 18, 1990)-Federal convict Miguel Valdez, fifty-seven, tells a story of beatings and forced drugging at the infamous 10 Building, the psych ward at the Springfield, Missouri, prison. In light of the February Supreme Court ruling on the drugging of convicts, his story takes on new significance.

In 1986, Valdez formed a group in Portland, Oregon, called Mexican-Americans for Social Justice. The group supported boycotts by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers and demonstrated frequently over Hispanic social issues. They became a considerable thorn in the paw of the local establishment.

Valdez was arrested in January 1988 and jailed without bail on a drug conspiracy charge. Because of his political bent, he says, he was kept in segregation at the Portland jail. His jury trial commenced in March 1989 before U.S. district court judge James Burns.

On the third day of his trial, an incident occurred that brought an exotic form of misery into his life.

"As I entered the courtroom, my little boy, who was eighteen months old at the time, came running up to me. I stooped down to catch him, and a marshal ran up and pushed me while yelling: "Get away from that kid."

"Before I could think, I hit the marshal with my fist. More marshals came and carried me to a holding cell, where they beat the hell out of me. The judge dismissed the jury and told them I was mentally incompetent to continue my trial right then."

That, Valdez says, was only the beginning of his ordeal:

"After they beat me until both eyes were swollen shut and my ribs caved in, they put me in the hole for three days, then chained me up and put me on the airflight to Springfield, Missouri. "When I got to E Block at Springfield, the guards shackled me to my bunk

by hands and ankles. They gave me intravenous shots of Prolixin and forced liquid Thorazine down my throat. I lay there shackled for two nights and days with no food or water. All they gave me was Prolixin and liquid Thorazine."

He says that by the third day, his tongue had swollen up and was sticking to the roof of his mouth, and he was thinking he might die of thirst. Valdez says his condition was probably exacerbated by his diabetes. The solid door on his cell had a small peephole. When two guards looked in, Valdez said he began yelling at them: "Hey, give me some water!"

"Shut up, asshole!" one of them reportedly replied. "You don't have anything coming."

But, Valdez continues, "I kept on yelling for water, and those two came in and beat me up again while I was shackled. A nurse named Bertha, who appeared to be Puerto Rican or Cuban, came in not long after they beat me. She ordered them to take off my shackles after I told her I had been without water or food for two days and nights. She gave me some water and juice, and it was the best I've ever tasted."

Valdez says he spent sixteen days in 10 Building's E Block on Prolixin and Thorazine. Seven days of that time, he was shackled to his bed.

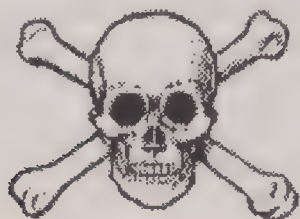
"The judge was calling them, wanting me back for trial, but I was so beaten and marked up, they couldn't bring me back right then," he says. "They began giving me big doses of antibiotics to heal the cuts and bruises."

When he returned to Portland after his stay in 10 Building, his trial resumed before the same jury, and he says he was given Thorazine twice a day for the duration of the trial. Valdez was convicted, and in July 1989, he was sentenced to thirty years in federal prison and sent back to 10 Building at Springfield. But this time, he says, he was taken off Thorazine and put in another section.

"I was only in E Block two days before they put me in F Block and gave me a job as nurse's attendant and orderly. It's obvious I'm not violent or crazy. I've never had, or needed, psychiatric treatment in my entire life." He worked in 10 Building for six months before he was transferred here to Phoenix. As we talk, he shows me the deep scars left by the shackles on his wrists and ankles.

He says that last September a tour of about twelve men and women came through 10 Building at Springfield. "Before they arrived, the guards were running around taking the shackles off of everyone, and they had me cleaning up their cells."

Valdez says that as long as he lives, he won't forget 10 Building or what happened there. "It's a pitiful place. Two or three times a week, you can hear convicts pleading and whimpering like animals as guards shackle them, beat them, and force medicine into them."



REQUIEM FOR MR. SQUIRREL

by Dannie Martin

Lompoc, CALIF. (Oct. 26, 1986)--Convicts always walk around a track counterclockwise, as if to deny time itself, as represented by the clock. It's a losing battle--time always wins. As the years go by, the exercise walks around the track at the prison's perimeter only get more boring. Four years ago this month, as my walking boredom threatened to become terminal, I met Mr. Squirrel on the yard here at Lompoc penitentiary. Mr. Squirrel was indeed a squirrel and not the nickname of a bushy-haired convict with an overbite. He was only one of many squirrels that ventured in between the double prison fences and sat upon hind legs in attitudes of supplication, seemingly praying for a morsel. We did throw them food, but mostly all we had was croutons sneaked out of the mess hall.

Most of the croutons fell short of the first fence, as it is hard to throw a small piece of toasted bread more than fifteen or twenty feet. Especially against the wind; and here at Lompoc if you are facing west, which is where the squirrels were, a brisk ocean breeze will almost always be blowing directly in your face. The squirrels would watch with chagrin and sometimes chatter furiously as our windblown croutons fell short of the fence, only to be swooped on by the ever-present seagulls and vigilant crows that had no sympathy for squirrels at all. Sometimes those croutons that reached the no-man's-land of rolled razor wire between the fences where the squirrels waited were picked off in the air by diving gulls. Every day during the noon lunch break eight or ten of us crouton carriers were beneath the corner gun tower, trying to feed the squirrels. Yet even this diversion was getting boring until the day I met Mr. Squirrel. Nothing about his looks distinguished him from the others. He looked exactly like a half-grown ground squirrel. His pose was rather striking. While the others ran about frantically chattering at thieving gulls, he sat upright in an attitude of absolute repose.

I chunked a crouton in his direction, and the wind blew it back to a spot about six feet beyond where I stood by a sign that read "Out of Bounds Beyond This Sign," and about twenty feet from where Mr. Squirrel sat between the fences. Three gulls hit the ground in hot pursuit of the crouton, and as I reached for another, a strange and unprecedented tableau unfolded. Before any of the gulls could snatch the crouton, Mr. Squirrel was right in the middle of them, and they Mr. Squirrel ate the crouton, and a few more, then left with his jaws stuffed full of the others I had brought. The next day he was waiting, and before I even reached for a crouton, he ran right up to me and sat calmly watching.

..IS

Mr. Squirrel continued...

Before we parted that day, he ate right out of my hand. This squirrel had more nerve than John Dillinger.

Our friendship was born on a note of pure justice. He had rescued me from terminal boredom, and I reciprocated by easing his hunger and teasing his palate with an ever-increasing variety of hoarded edibles.

He was especially fond of peanut butter. I rolled it into little balls, then laughed when he stuffed it in his jaws to save and chattered furiously as it melted in his mouth. Now that Mr. Squirrel had broken the barriers, most of the squirrels followed his example and sat begging only a few feet from where we walked the track.

Mr. Squirrel would take food from other cons, but he never approached anyone but me. If I had peanut butter or candy-coated almonds, he would sometimes climb up my arm and eat on my shoulder. He left each day with his jaws stuffed. His pantry in the field beyond the fences must have been well stocked. The day I grabbed him and turned him over to find out if he was a Mr. or a Ms., he clawed me good, bit a chunk out of my arm, jumped down, and chattered at me for a good five minutes. Then forgave and forgot. I never tried that again, but there was no need—he was a Mr.

We met each day at noon for almost a year, except for fifteen days I spent in Isolation for a minor rule infraction. Then he was absent for a while around January. In early spring that year, he showed up one day followed by two baby squirrels. I don't know if they were his progeny or just admirers, but he led them right up to share my groceries. They never squabbled at all and sat patiently as I fed each in turn. Mr. Squirrel was raising them impeccably, but unfortunately they would never get to grow up.

On a windblown day, as I walked the track to where Mr. Squirrel waited, I noticed outside the fences, at about thirty-foot intervals, a row of little boxes with holes cut in the sides. Squirrels, including Mr. Squirrel's babies, were running in and out of the ominous little boxes and chattering happily.

My heart began to sink as it dawned on me they were being poisoned. Poisoned by a slow-acting agent like arsenic trioxide that would allow them time to crawl to a hole where they would die a slow and agonizing death, thereby leaving the little boxes clear of dead bodies and free of suspicion.

I was a hurt and helpless spectator to the warden's final solution to the squirrel problem. I harbored a dim hope that Mr. Squirrel would be too smart to go for this trick. In the few days that followed I fed him much more than he could eat or carry, and I continually lectured him on the evil that lurked nearby.

The little ones weren't seen again, and after five days Mr. Squirrel was the only one left. When Mr. Squirrel approached me and pawed listlessly at my peanut butter while looking at me out of reddened and pain-filled eyes, I knew he had been in the box. I knew I would never see him or feed him or play with him again. A most harrowing thought was that he may have wondered if I did it to him.

I walked away knowing that for years to come I would have to pass each day by the place where I fed him, and the

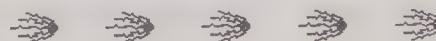
justice of our friendship would surely be lost in the bitterness of remembrance.

I haven't seen a squirrel these past three years. Not even on a nearby hill where they used to frolic on good days. A few gulls were found dead, but all the crows seem to have survived. The vulture population was severely thinned. Two fluffy owls and a beautiful mating pair of red-tailed hawks disappeared about the same time as the squirrels.

The boxes are long gone now, and strange as it seems not one convict or guard ever said a word about the squirrels or their fate. Mr. Squirrel was like me in some ways. He disdained the status quo, and gun towers, fences, and razor wire never impressed him much. If he lay in a hole surrounded by peanut butter and croutons while arsenic ate his stomach, I have lain in Isolation strip cells surrounded by vulgar graffiti while the pain of life ate my guts. My spirit is diminished by the way he died, stunted by the brutal termination of his refulgent soul. Some days when I walk along by the place I used to feed Mr. Squirrel, I am haunted by a verse from an Oscar Wilde poem, "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," where he wrote:

*The vilest deeds like poison weeds
Bloom well on prison air.
It is only what is good in man
that wastes and withers there....*

Of course, he never said a word about squirrels. Neither did anyone in here.



A postscript by Peter Sussman of the SF Chronicle:

After publication of "Mr. Squirrel," Dannie said he was "damn near deluged" with letters from readers, and so was I. Six months and several published stories later, his correspondents "still want to talk about Squirrel," he wrote me. "That piece had legs, buddy. I mean legs. it's still running." To this day, I receive letters from Dannie's admirers, who establish their bona fides by writing, "I've been a reader of his since 'Mr. Squirrel.'" Delighted though Dannie was with the readers' responses, his greatest satisfaction came from the writing itself. He later told me he felt better about writing this story than anything else he's written. His article was a kind of personal memorial: "That story was important to me. I fervently wanted to give Mr. Squirrel some justice."

Although it is not known whether the article affected prison policy in any way, Warden Christensen certainly heard the author's message. He later told a Los Angeles Times reporter that the article had brought a flood of irate letters to the prison from all over the world, including Australia and Switzerland. The warden told the Times that the prison's squirrels had been a very expensive nuisance, chewing up road and electronic surveillance equipment. He said that poison had been used only after trapping proved ineffective. A number of convicts approached Dannie to tell him that they had unsuccessfully tried to enclose copies of "Mr. Squirrel" in letters home. Some had the letters returned again and again until they removed the newspaper clipping; others said their letters arrived at their homes but without the enclosure. Prison officials would later argue that convict writing in the news media under a byline is dangerous to security because of its effects on other prisoners, but in their response to "Mr. Squirrel," as with the AIDS article, they seemed primarily concerned about what outsiders were able to learn of the internal workings of the prison.

Unschooling as a Political Activity

by Camy Matthay

Delight and liberty,
the simple creed of childhood
-Wordsworth

Parents homeschool their children in America for many reasons, but the initial motive is generally protective -against an environment they see as unable to conform to their convictions about how children should be raised and educated. For the most part, homeschooling parents on the political right homeschool their children to protect them from ideas and values that conflict with their religious beliefs, whereas homeschooling parents on the left are motivated by the desire to protect their children from an environment they foresee as incompatible with creative life.

I am on the left end of the spectrum; to have expected my children to spend the best hours of their childhood in relative confinement from life, would have been the worst sort of hypocrisy on my part -a violation of the Golden Rule. Moreover, given the fact that my own experience in school had restrained my thinking while falsely inflating my ego, it was impossible for me to pretend that my children, even if they were ranked among the "gifted and talented," could survive the schooling experience ethically unscathed.

Beyond my wariness about institutionalizing children, the style of attachment parenting I had adopted (since the birth of my first child) precluded an abrupt severance of the bonds and obligations I valued. I had spent years honoring maternal work in a society that expected women to prioritize an income of their own. Though others tried to convince me of the virtues of sending my kids to school and "getting another life," I was enchanted with the one that I had. I loved being with my children, they ranked among the most entertaining people I knew and -in the five years we had shared so far- among the best teachers I ever had; they had convinced me through their incessant desire to know more, to explore more, to want more complexity, that nothing short of darkness and confinement would keep their engagement in the world from growing more sophisticated. I could not be complacent about "reassigning" the task of rearing and educating them to people I didn't know.

As the years went by, and so many of my assumptions about learning were deconstructed, I became increasingly grateful that I hadn't caved in to the illusion of school as a benign, if not "great" institution. Detached from one of the most ubiquitous conventions in the lives of American families, I saw that schools could not be responsive to the remarkable styles of learning that children develop, nor truly sensitive to the developmental differences that exist between children of a given age. I saw how schools harm children by stratifying them in narrow classes, by encouraging them to compete against each other,

by coercing them to do (often dull) work, by comparing their achievements against external standards, by rewarding the "best and brightest," and denigrating the rest. In short, processes that had once seemed normal and inevitable, now seemed inhumane and absurd.

From my own experiences in school I knew how restricted the sympathy of teachers was for the great latitude of ability and talent that exists in children. I saw how the shape of my own children's academic interests, superimposed against the typical "six major subject areas" of school curriculums, would look less like nice, neat hexagons, than octopi-like forms with various-sized tentacles; their abilities and investigations of the world were that unique. Bearing in mind the relative freedom my children had to shape and structure their own lives, I understood what John Holt, author of How Children Fail, meant when he wrote that schools were sad places for children: that children deserved so much more since by nature they were so curious, so willing to participate in the social life of a particular place, and so hospitable to goodness.

In addition, I recognized that though the nominal purpose of schools -public or private- is to educate, as institutions, their primary purpose is, simply, to stay in business. And so, vast resources, which could otherwise be used for more worthy social purposes, are diverted to support a bureaucratic infrastructure. A corollary of this is that teachers, especially, those in government schools, cannot be half as creative as they might like to be since their job security relies on their own conformity to narrowly prescribed methods of instruction and on meeting standards of achievement dictated by state policies.

One of the most difficult things for mainstream people to accept is that when children aren't meddled with, but just supported with resources that meet their declared needs, rarely does their desire to achieve competence fail them. And that statement doesn't give the thinnest allusion to the extraordinary achievements of children who are encouraged to experiment and deviate, and are free to use their entire community as a resource for learning.

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Children, as all parents know, are insatiably curious when they are not repressed. Young children can be so outspoken and desirous of information that they are fatiguing. This kind of desire and energy is inexhaustible; as a sole motivating force, it can fuel a lifetime of inquiry. These observations alone ought to be enough to convince us that children don't need teachers -or schools. For those of us who spent years in schools, waiting to be taught what was deemed important to know by "certified" individuals, this is a difficult idea. Yet, when we sift through the evidence of our own experience, we know that learning is independent of teaching. As Peter Elbow wrote in Writing Without Teachers, since "students can learn without teachers even though teachers cannot teach without students, the deepest dependency is not of students upon teachers, but of teachers upon students." The opposite seems to be true only when we have unwittingly come to accept the teaching function as concentrated in a class of professional specialists who do their work only in specialized localities.

Before the 1830's -roughly, before the advent of public schooling, children were educated by their parents, by their

Unschooling continued...

neighbors, in their communities; the teaching "function" was diffused throughout the community. It would not have occurred to parents to question their ability to help their children become useful members of society; life was filled with meaningful work, and children were welcome, if not expected, to watch, to listen, and to participate as fully as they were able in the work going on around them. At that time in history, in the vital communities that existed, few parents would have had doubts about their ability to help their children achieve.

Today, the most frequent response I hear from parents when confronted with the idea of homeschooling is "I couldn't do that," or even, "I could never do that." This lack of self-confidence suggests many bad things, but in the most general and ubiquitous way, I think, reveals the extent to which schools have been successful in the subjugation of the masses they claim to "educate". Whatever the reason may be, this shrunken capacity for responsibility betrays the degree to which parents have relinquished their independence and their family's autonomy to individuals "better" than themselves. It also suggests how dependent parents have become on the baby-sitting function of schools; kids are attended to while their parents work to provide for their family's needs for shelter, sustenance, and the accouterments required to display their class position in society.

Schools, again, as places that habitually judge and stratify human beings, have played a significant role in cultivating submissiveness to authoritarian and hierarchical principles. Harsher critics -without any intended irony- would say that schools were never intended to train an alert, politically active body of citizens, but to inculcate habits of obedience and punctuality for the emerging industrial order; that the architects of the American educational establishment had obsessive concerns for industrial productivity and social order, and that schools were designed to create a compliant working class. John Taylor Gatto, author of Dumbing us Down, summed it up this way, "Schools teach exactly what they are intended to teach and they do it well: how to be a good Egyptian and remain in your place in the pyramid."

Do we need schools? No. Children certainly don't. Again, it's the other way around. The more pertinent question -one that has gone dormant for about 170 years- is, who does need schools? Well, it may seem pretty obvious who's going to lose their shirts if children don't go to school. Teachers, administrators, and corporations that provide materials or services that would never be bought outside of schools -like textbooks, and (those "nutritious") schools lunches. But actually, teachers, at least good teachers don't need schools any more than children do. However, insofar as the word teacher means surrogate parent or day-care provider -yes, it is self-evident that communities need teachers since so many parents are not particularly interested in a life inclusive of children. And we desperately need teachers who understand that preserving children, fostering their growth, and rendering them socially acceptable is a work of conscience.

If teaching means "imparting specific knowledge or skill", but not "systematic instruction" (Websters's definitions of education), I also think that teachers can be useful, even critical, but only in a context where the student initiates the relationship and has control over the breadth and length

of that engagement. Such a relationship would be quite different from the authoritarian asymmetry found in schools; teachers in schools have the right to command, and correlatively, the right to be obeyed. A relationship where students hire their own mentors and make their own arrangements for study would be different. The seniority of the mentor could not inflate into arrogance or abuse without penalty. Despite whatever stature the prospective mentor might have in their field of interest, if their talent is not counterbalanced by kindness and respect, their instructive role would come to naught; students who are disillusioned could move their attention elsewhere.

To my mind, this is the only educational relationship possible. It would be no small thing to be sought out by students who are so impressed with your work that they long to receive some guidance in the interests and culture of your life. In a community where such relationships are valued, the quality of teaching and teachers would be continually improving through self-correction. Much honor would be accorded to teachers who would continue to be sought out for help and instruction, and bad teachers would be culled through neglect.

But what about the good teachers in schools? And what about schools?

Again, unschoolers are not unaware of the fact that thousands of humane, caring people work in schools as teachers, aides, and administrators. However, we believe that the abstract logic of schools as institutions, and especially, of schools as institutions in the employ of a state (now overly aggrandized to suit the needs of its corporate sponsors), overwhelms the contributions that any individual may make on behalf of helping children to direct their own lives with dignity and integrity. Public schools cannot do this because the criteria of measurable achievement, and the exigencies of classroom life -of coping, for example, with twenty-five children at once- demands efficiency and the subjugation of students. Although it is commonly believed that private schools improve on many of these details, ironically, they rarely do. Behind their elitist facades, various ideologies, even, in some cases, "child-centered" curriculums, private schools can make no claim to immunity from the worst flaw of public schools -that is, they circumscribe and restrict the lives of children.

As Grace Llewellyn put it in The Teenage Liberation Handbook, "the overwhelming reality of schools is CONTROL." And schools control children by establishing standards for them to live up to or fall down on, and as Gatto wrote, "by pre-empting fifty percent of the total time of the young, by locking young people up with other young people exactly their own age, by ringing bells to start and stop work, by asking people to think the same thing at the same time in the same way, by grading people the way we grade vegetables—and in a dozen other vile and stupid ways." This is what parents accept when a slow, organic process of self-awareness, self-discovery, and cooperation is what is required for anyone to grow and develop with their humanity left intact.

Even as early as 1839, Orestes Brownson, one of the most perceptive critics of schools, wrote that those in favor of institutionalizing children had forgotten that children were "best educated in the streets, by the influence of their associates, in the fields and on the hill sides, by the influences of surrounding scenery and overshadowing skies . . . by the love and gentleness, or wrath and fretfulness of parents, by the passions and affection they see manifested, the conversations to which they listen, and above all by the

general pursuits, habits, and moral tone of the community." Schools robbed the potential of neighborhoods and communities to be, as they always had been, the best nurseries of civic life, and buttressed the most obnoxious feature of class societies, the separation of learning from life experiences.

Under the pretext of offering parents a service, which parents were often forced—in some cases, at gunpoint—to accept, schools weakened families and replaced much of the "delight and liberty" of childhood with a classroom. The educational establishment, thus, simultaneously procured a justification for taxing its citizens and a mechanism for manufacturing compliance to the requirements of the emerging industrial order. Ignorant of the history of resistance in the formative years of public schooling, and so indoctrinated by the propaganda of the establishment, most parents today are actually grateful for this service that diminishes their wealth and freedom. This process exemplifies the meaning of what Noam Chomsky called "the creation of necessary illusions"; in this case, the initial indignation of parents against mandatory schooling was transmuted into appreciation for the "experts" who know best.

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If schools did nothing more insidious than restrict the time and freedom that children would otherwise have to use their entire community as a resource for learning, that would be depressing enough. But, in addition, by imposing external standards against which the progress of children is measured, schools are injurious to the self-esteem of children—and not just to those who do not fit their models of development, but to *all* children whether or not they are identified as "challenged" or "gifted and talented." Schools mock egalitarian ideology and do further damage to the dignity of children when they require them to compete for promotion, rewards, and limited positions on the roster of "superior" beings.

John Holt, considered by many to be the grandfather of the "growing without schooling" movement, underscored the deleterious effects of measuring and testing children when he wrote, "I think the only way in which children, or indeed anybody gets a sense of dignity, competence, worth, and self-esteem is by succeeding by their standards to their own satisfaction, not anybody else's, at tasks of their own choosing. They don't feel this way learning to jump through hoops which we hold up higher and higher. . . it is only when they choose a task and complete it to their own satisfaction that they get this sense of growth and development."

Whereas schools refer to and create dependence on external standards (increasingly crafted by corporations), unschoolers try to foster intellectual self-reliance. Whereas schools measure children and confine their thinking to specific uniformities; unschoolers encourage children to gauge their own progress and to make up their own minds in the context of a complex world of dissenting opinions, obfuscation, and multiple histories.

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Beyond the question of what schools do *to* children, there is the whole question of what schools do *for* children. Schools, it is commonly understood, provide children with opportunities for advancement. This is true. Schools function as arenas where children are dazzled in various ways by the "promising" ideology of meritocracy and taught to compete for the "easy life". Schools winnow the superior children from the inferior

ones, whose "failures", of course, cannot be the responsibility of the system, since the losers, after all, were given an "equal opportunity" to succeed. It is in this way that schools play a role in American society as a system of elite recruitment that appears to be fair and democratic.

This system, however, is meritocratic, and is, in fact, a parody of democracy, since the "equal opportunities for advancement" that meritocracy in theory offers to everyone are (as everyone knows) unequal. The notion that public and higher education is an efficient and equitable conveyor belt for ambition betrays a fundamental misunderstanding. Anyone who takes a serious look at the history of compulsory schooling in America cannot doubt that schools have deflated aspirations more often than they nurtured or rewarded them. Far from enhancing people capacity to exercise citizenship, for bolstering civic life, and "democratizing intelligence," a meritocratic educational establishment merely promotes a broader recruitment of elites while essentially derailing the rest from dissent or imagination by undermining their self-regard. Those who fall behind in such a system come to feel that the problems they face are their own failures to adjust to the given reality, rather than being able to identify and discuss their condition as a systemic failure of a society structured on supremacy and subservience.

This process of selective recruitment by schools is one of the best courses of self-defense of the ruling elite since it drains talent away from lower classes and deprives them of potential leadership. In addition, as Christopher Lasch pointed out in The Revolt of the Elites, meritocracy has the effect of making the new elites arrogant and secure by allowing them to maintain the fiction that the positions they have gained in the upper echelons of society rests exclusively on their own brainpower and diligence. Invested in the hubris of thinking of themselves as "self-made", these new elites have little awareness of what others have sacrificed on their behalf. They tend to merely put up appearances in regard to ancestral and civic obligations, and operate as though the social order that supports them has no reality or bearing on their lives. And finally, they have the wealth to convince themselves this is so.

Precisely because of their contentment to remain ignorant, i.e., their deliberate aloofness, these new elites tend to exercise the power they have irresponsibly and indulgently. "Their lack of gratitude," wrote Lasch, "disqualifies meritocratic elites from the burden of leadership [since] . . . they are less interested in leadership than in escaping from the common lot—the very definition of meritocratic success."

Furthermore, it turns out that the methods used by the establishment to sort out the "worthy" and to promote meritocracy merely reinforces the existing distribution of wealth and power. Allan Hanson, for example in Testing Testing: Social Consequences of the Examined Life, reported that "intelligence tests are designed in part to promote equal opportunity, but it happens that test scores are perfectly correlated with mean family income." That is to say, the tests used in schools to identify the "those most suited to rise" are skewed in favor of rich kids.

Whether our society is still structured on hereditary privilege or meritocratic principles is a moot issue since both

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concentrate power and privilege in a small, specialized class. Though many Americans content themselves with attacks on the former arrangement of power, the "aristocracy of talented" who have emerged in the last century, have proven to be far more ruthless than their antecedents who at least were familiar with the tradition of noblesse oblige. These elites, mobile and increasingly global in outlook, refuse allegiances to nation or community, and are so insulated by power and wealth that they feel no need to care for what happens to any place. "One does not think to improve oneself by becoming better at what one is doing or by assuming some measure of public responsibility for local conditions," wrote Wendell Berry wrote in *The Unsettling of America*, "one thinks to improve oneself . . . by 'moving up' to a 'place of higher consideration.' "

Acquisition and ostentation is the driving force of meritocrats; the latest trends are the cultural carrots of American life. This is why the increasing collusion between corporations and schools is so dangerous. In the onslaught of forces forming desire, children -vulnerable and impressionable- have everything to lose, and corporations have everything to gain by colonizing the minds of "their" prospective consumers. Whereas the emerging industrial order required a compliant working class, the survival of the corporate order requires a compliant consuming class.

Schools have always supported societies based on hierarchies of privilege and power. In America, the whole notion of "social mobility through education" is flawed; it is here that revolutionary consciousness has foundered, on the the unexamined assumption of upward mobility -the very fabric of the "American Dream." When ambition no longer seeks a "competence", when "moving up" appears as the only prize worth pursuing, one is more likely to end chained to the convention that money is an adequate goal for life's work, than involved in redefining the American dream, much less working to confront injustice in America.

Most Americans are so ignorant of the historical record, that they don't know, Lasch wrote, "that the promise of American life [that] came to be identified with social mobility [occurred] only when more hopeful interpretations of opportunity had begun to fade." Today, Americans are so marginalized, or are so appropriated by a mobilized economy driven by the compulsion to produce, that they are unable to see how confined they are by system that values money over humanity, power over truth, and conformity over creativity. The pervasiveness of this sweeping epidemic of social blindness, is underscored by the fact that the only coherent demand of those working on behalf of the new social movements (feminism, gay rights, welfare rights, for example) aims at inclusion in the dominant structure rather than at a revolutionary transformation of social relations; instead of developing new patterns in their daily lives, people scramble to seize the same "rights" as those in power; instead of restructuring society from within, activism exhausts itself by banging on the door of the "kingdom."

It would be useful to know what the "more hopeful interpretations of opportunity" were that we lost -that were snuffed out 170 years ago by the educational establishment Not everyone seems to know that history is supposed to teach us what it is to be human and what humans have proved capable of. Not everyone will have the energy to deconstruct what is false in their lives -to construct different visions of social order. I feel pretty certain that the longer you were schooled the harder it is to discover

answers to those questions. This is because of the high degree of collusion between academics and state policies, and the function of universities -at least those closest to the centers of power- to groom intellectuals in their roles as commissars of culture and society. As Noam Chomsky pointed out in *Manufacturing Consent*, establishment intellectuals, as service personnel to the ruling elites, will necessarily have been submitted to the highest levels of indoctrination.

Bearing in mind what the social philosopher Hannah Arendt once wrote, that "the aim of totalitarian education has never been to instill convictions but to destroy the capacity to form any," I would argue that schools are one of the most oppressive devices of American society -a "mind industry" whose biggest achievement has been to precipitate a massive failure of social awareness and imagination.

To understand this world and its injustices, it is critical to step away from the tools (television, for example) and arenas of indoctrination. In abstinence from corporate-controlled media, from government schools, from mainstream culture . . . when the world is outside the door and your family is inside, many doors of perception open wide. When the center of your life can drift back into a form that includes you as someone who is important and your children as valuable unto themselves, than it will be clear that the only opportunities schools provide, serve the self-interest of an American Empire that is crashing into the future.

Displaced from schools, one might recognize the anti-democratic and exploitative nature of the meritocratic educational establishment and acknowledge the absurdity of historical efforts made to link egalitarian ideology with hierarchical structures. One might begin to see that the promise of "opportunity" is a lie built on the shabbiest visions of humanity and convictions about life. One might begin to dream about the sort of society R. H. Tawney had in mind when he wrote in *Equality*, "that opportunities to rise are no substitute for a general diffusion of the means of civilization," and "of the dignity and culture" that are needed by all "whether they rise or not." . . . and to realize that any clues about how to build a just society will not be found near the centers of power and influence.

Notwithstanding my knowledge that we are all embedded in a particular society on a particular course. I hope that my own children understand my dissent with mainstream culture. If I am able to instill in them objectivity about the hurricane of false meaning produced in our society, I believe that their capacity to think for and believe in themselves will not be as foreshortened as mine was by the years I spent in school. My greatest longing is for my children to retain a clarity of mind, to conduct their lives with compassion for others, and to understand the worth of working to create self-sustaining, self-governing communities. I would like them to be useful, and to know and exalt the authentic forms of happiness that can't be bought. I want them to be capable of sober thoughts, and the action that clarifies what is fair and true.

--Camy Matthay

The Child and Its Enemies

Emma Goldman

Is the child to be considered as an individuality, or as an object to be molded according to the whims and fancies of those about it? This seems to me to be the most important question to be answered by parents and educators. And whether the child is to grow from within, whether all that craves expression will be permitted to come forth toward the light of day; or whether it is to be kneaded like dough through external forces, depends upon the proper answer to this vital question.

The longing of the best and noblest of our times makes for the strongest individualities. Every sensitive being abhors the idea of being treated as a mere machine or as a mere parrot of conventionality and respectability; the human being craves recognition of his kind.

It must be borne in mind that it is through the channel of the child that the development of the mature man must go, and that the present ideas of the educating or training of the latter in the school and the family—even the family of the liberal or radical—are such as to stifle the natural growth of the child.

Every institution of our day, the family, the State, our moral codes, sees in every strong, beautiful, uncompromising personality a deadly enemy; therefore every effort is being made to cramp human emotion and originality of thought in the individual into a strait-jacket from its earliest infancy; or to shape every human being according to one pattern; not into a well-rounded individuality, but into a patient work slave, professional automaton, taxpaying citizen, or righteous moralist. If one, nevertheless, meets with real spontaneity (which, by the way, is a rare treat), it is not due to our method of rearing or educating the child: the personality often asserts itself, regardless of official and family barriers. Such a discovery should be celebrated as an unusual event, since the obstacles placed in the way of growth and development of character are so numerous that it must be considered a miracle if it retains its strength and beauty and survives the various attempts at crippling that which is most essential to it.

Indeed, he who has freed himself from the fetters of the thoughtlessness and stupidity of the commonplace; he who can stand without moral crutches, without the approval of public opinion—private laziness, Friedrich Nietzsche called it—may well intone a high and voluminous song of independence and freedom; he has gained the right to it through fierce and fiery battles. These battles already begin at the most delicate age.

The child shows its individual tendencies in its play, in its questions, in its association with people and things. But it has to struggle with everlasting external interference in its world of

thought and emotion. It must not express itself in harmony with its nature, with its growing personality. It must become a thing, an object. Its questions are met with narrow, conventional, ridiculous replies, mostly based on falsehoods; and, when, with large, wondering, innocent eyes, it wishes to behold the wonders of the world, those about it quickly lock the windows and doors, and keep the delicate human plant in a hothouse atmosphere, where it can neither breathe nor grow freely.

Zola, in his novel *Fecundity*, maintains that large sections of people have declared death to the child, have conspired against the birth of the child—a very horrible picture indeed, yet the conspiracy entered into by civilization against the growth and making of character seems to me far more terrible and disastrous, because of the slow and gradual destruction of its latent qualities and traits and the stupefying and crippling effect thereof upon its social wellbeing.

Since every effort in our educational life seems to be directed toward making of the child a being foreign to itself, it must of necessity produce individuals foreign to one another, and in everlasting antagonism with each other.

The ideal of the average pedagogist is not a complete, well-rounded, original being; rather does he seek that the result of his art or pedagogy shall be automatons of flesh and blood, to best fit into the treadmill of society and the emptiness and dullness of our lives. Every home, school, college and university stands for dry, cold utilitarianism, overflowing the brain of the pupil with a tremendous amount of ideas, handed down from generations past. "Facts and data," as they are called, constitute a lot of information, well enough perhaps to maintain every form of authority and to create much awe for the importance of possession, but only a great handicap to a true understanding of the human soul and its place in the world.

Truths dead and forgotten long ago, conceptions of the world and its people, covered with mould, even during the times of our grandmothers, are being hammered into the heads of our young generation. Eternal change, thousand fold variations, continual innovation are the essence of life. Professional pedagogy knows nothing of it, the systems of education are being arranged into files, classified and numbered. They lack the strong fertile seed which, falling on rich soil, enables them to grow to great heights; they are worn and incapable of awakening spontaneity of character. Instructors and teachers, with dead souls, operate with dead values. Quantity is forced to take the place of quality. The consequences thereof are inevitable.

In whatever direction one turns, eagerly searching for human beings who do not measure ideas and emotions with the yardstick of expediency, one is confronted with the products, the herdlike drilling instead of the result of spontaneous and innate characteristics working themselves out in freedom.

"No traces now I see whatever of a spirit's agency. 'Tis drilling, nothing more."



Emma...The Child continued.....

These words of Faust fit our methods of pedagogy perfectly. Take, for instance, the way history is being taught in our schools. See how the events of the world become like a cheap puppet show, where a few wire-pullers are supposed to have directed the course of development of the entire human race.

And the history of our own nation! Was it not chosen by Providence to become the leading nation on earth? And does it not tower mountain high over other nations? Is it not the gem of the ocean? Is it not incomparably virtuous, ideal, and brave? The result of such ridiculous teaching is a dull, shallow patriotism, blind to its own limitations, with bull-like stubbornness, utterly incapable of judging of the capacities of other nations. This is the way the spirit of youth is emasculated, deadened through an over-estimation of one's own value. No wonder public opinion can be so easily manufactured.

"Predigested food" should be inscribed over every hall of learning as a warning to all who do not wish to lose their own personalities and their original sense of judgment, who, instead, would be content with a large amount of empty and shallow shells. This may suffice as recognition of the manifold hindrances placed in the way of an independent mental development of the child.

Equally numerous, and not less important, are the difficulties that confront the emotional life of the young. Must not one suppose that parents should be united to children by the most tender and delicate chords? One should suppose it; yet, sad as it may be, it is, nevertheless, true, that parents are the first to destroy the inner riches of their children.

The Scriptures tell us that God created Man in His own image, which has by no means proven a success. Parents follow the bad example of their heavenly master: they use every effort to shape and mould the child according to their image. They tenaciously cling to the idea that the child is merely part of themselves—an idea as false as it is injurious, and which only increases the misunderstanding of the soul of the child, of the necessary consequences of enslavement and subordination thereof.

As soon as the first rays of consciousness illuminate the mind and heart of the child, it instinctively begins to compare its own personality with the personality of those about it. How many hard and cold stone cliffs; meet its large wondering gaze? Soon enough it is confronted with the painful reality that it is here only to serve as inanimate matter for parents and guardians, whose authority alone gives it shape and form.

The terrible struggle of the thinking man and woman against political, social and moral conventions owes its origin to the family, where the child is ever compelled to battle against the internal and external use of force. The categorical imperatives: you shall! you must! this is right! that is wrong! this is true! that is false! shower like a violent rain upon the unsophisticated head of the young being and impress upon its sensibilities that it has to bow before the long-established and hard notions of thoughts and emotions. Yet the latent qualities and instincts seek to assert their own peculiar methods of seeking the foundation of things, of distinguishing between what is commonly called wrong, true or false.

It is bent upon going its own way, since it is composed of the same nerves, muscles and blood, even as those who assume to direct its destiny. I fail to understand how parents hope that their children will ever grow up into independent, self-reliant spirits, when they strain every effort to abridge and curtail the various activities of their children, the plus in quality and character, which differentiates their offspring from themselves, and by the virtue of which they are eminently equipped carriers of new, invigorating ideas. A young delicate tree that is being clipped and cut by the gardener in order to give it an artificial form will never reach the majestic height and the beauty it would if allowed to grow in nature and freedom.

When the child reaches adolescence, it meets, added to the home and school restrictions, with a vast amount of hard traditions of social morality. The cravings of love and sex are met with absolute ignorance by the majority of parents, who consider it as something indecent and improper, something disgraceful, almost criminal, to be suppressed and fought like some terrible disease. The love and tender feelings in the young plant are turned into vulgarity and coarseness through the stupidity of those surrounding it, so that everything fine and beautiful is either crushed altogether or hidden in the innermost depths, as a great sin, that dares not face the light.

What is more astonishing is the fact that parents will strip themselves of everything, will sacrifice everything for the physical well-being of their child, will wake nights and stand in fear and agony before some physical ailment of their beloved one; but will remain cold and indifferent, without the slightest understanding, before the soul cravings and the yearnings of their child, neither hearing nor wishing to hear the loud knocking of the young spirit that demands recognition. On the contrary, they will stifle the beautiful voice of spring, of a new life of beauty and splendor of love; they will put the long lean finger of authority upon the tender throat and not allow vent to the silvery song of the individual growth, of the beauty of character, of the strength of love and human relation, which alone make life worth living.

And yet these parents imagine that they mean best for the child, and for aught I know, some really do; but their best means absolute death and decay to the bud in the making. After all, they are but imitating their own masters in State, commercial, social and moral affairs, by forcibly suppressing every independent attempt to analyze the ills of society and every sincere effort toward the abolition of these ills; never able to grasp the eternal truth that every method they employ serves as the greatest impetus to bring forth a greater longing for freedom and a deeper zeal to fight for it.

That compulsion is bound to awaken resistance, every parent and teacher ought to know. Great surprise is being expressed over the fact that the majority of children of radical parents are either altogether opposed to the ideas of the latter, many of them moving along the old antiquated paths, or that they are indifferent to the new thoughts and teachings of social regeneration. And yet there is nothing unusual in that. Radical parents, though emancipated from the belief of ownership in the human soul, still cling tenaciously to the notion that they own the child, and that they have the right to exercise their authority over it. So they set out to mould and form the child according to their own conception of what is right and wrong, forcing their ideas upon it with the same vehemence that the average Catholic parent uses.

And, with the latter, they hold out the necessity before the young "to do as I tell you and not as I do." But the impressionable mind of the child realizes early enough that the lives of their parents are in contradiction to the ideas they represent; that, like the good Christian who fervently prays on Sunday, yet continues to break the Lord's commands the rest of the week, the radical parent arraigns God, priesthood, church, government, domestic authority, yet continues to adjust himself to the condition he abhors. Just so, the Freethought parent can proudly boast that his son of four will recognize the picture of Thomas Paine or Ingersoll, or that he knows that the idea of God is stupid. Or the Social Democratic father can point to his little girl of six and say, "Who wrote The Capital, dearie?" "Karl Marx, pa!" Or the Anarchistic mother can make it known that her daughter's name is Louise Michel, Sophia Perovskaya, or that she can recite the revolutionary poems of Herwegh, Freiligrath or Shelley, and that she will point out the faces of Spencer, Bakunin or Moses Harman almost anywhere.

These are by no means exaggerations; they are sad facts that I have met with in my experience with radical parents. What are the results of such methods of biasing the mind? The following is the consequence, and not very infrequent, either. The child, being fed on one-sided, set and fixed ideas, soon grows weary of rehashing the beliefs of its parents, and it sets out in quest of new sensations; no matter how inferior and shallow the new experience may be, the human mind cannot endure sameness and monotony. So it happens that that boy or girl, over-fed on Thomas Paine, will land in the arms of the Church, or they will vote for imperialism only to escape the drag of economic determinism and scientific socialism, or that they open a shirtwaist factory and cling to their right of accumulating property only to find relief from the old-fashioned communism of their father. Or that the girl will marry the next best man, provided he can make a living, only to run away from the everlasting talk on variety. Such a condition of affairs may be very painful to the parents who wish their children to follow in their path, yet I look upon them as very refreshing and encouraging psychological forces. They are the greatest guarantee that the independent mind, at least, will always resist every external and foreign force exercised over the human heart and head.

Some will ask, what about weak natures, must they not be protected? Yes, but to be able to do that, it will be necessary to realize that education of children is not synonymous with herdlike drilling and training. If education should really mean anything at all, it must insist upon the free growth and development of the innate forces and tendencies of the child. In this way alone can we hope for the free individual and eventually also for a free community, which shall make interference and coercion of human growth impossible.

-Emma Goldman.

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NYT 11/23-After the president's remarks, Specialist Norlan Calmona said Mr. Bush's words "make me want to go out and kill some enemy."

"Can't hardly wait," Specialist Calmona added. Mr. Bush and his wife, Laura, arrived at the base here on the Kentucky-Tennessee border in time for lunch with 150 soldiers from the 101st Airborne. Before digging in, Lt. Col. Kenneth Brown, a chaplain, led a prayer, at one point saying, "Oh, God, bless our commander in chief." The prayer ended with the words "Air Assault, Amen!"

Mr. Bush said, "All right, let's eat."

Banks, Cops, and Free Speech: the ADB Lands on Hawai'i

by Erik Haunold

By the time you read this, the Asian Development Bank conference in Honolulu will have come and gone. If we have done our job right, many of you will now know what the ADB is and does and its threat to the environment, democracy, and self-determination free of the imperatives of the free market.

As I write this, a month before the Bank's scheduled meeting, the local media is abuzz with reports of the police and the state's preparations for protesters, replete with millions of dollars in tax-payer dollars going to pay for new weapons and training for police, massive subsidies for the bank to host its meeting in Honolulu, and new and highly repressive city ordinances and state statutes being passed with the intention of limiting or eliminating people's rights to assembly and protest.

The police are attempting to declare a "No protest zone" all around the convention center, an area that includes several nearby parks. The intent, obviously, is to insulate delegates to the convention from the same sorts of unruly crowds that nearly shut down the bank's meeting when it was held in Chiang Mai, Thailand, last year.

In that instance, nearly 5,000 people from across the Asian-Pacific region, converged on the bank meeting and for several days held people's forums, speak outs, teach-ins, protests, and other events, in an attempt to make their voices heard. Although the protesters were unable to actually shut down this little-known, secretive institution (it has met behind closed doors for the entire 35 years of its existence) in the same manner that the WTO was shut down, I believe the protesters were successful because the ADB realized that its actions were the subject of intense, accurate, and very animated criticisms. But as is usually the case with large, bureaucratic institutions that represent the interests of wealthy elites and corporations, rather than listen to criticisms leveled by protesters, the ADB undertook a public relations campaign intended to enhance its image. ADB literature now describes its mission as one of "poverty reduction," although in reality, it actually continues in the same vein as before, creating poverty and misery wherever it gets its hands into the pot, very much like the IMF and World Bank.

But I digress. The point of this is not to describe the policies and actions of the ADB but rather the response of the state to anticipated protests on the scale of the Seattle protests in 1999. Truthfully, any protests that do happen in Hawai'i will be nowhere near the scale as what took place in Seattle, but that hasn't stopped the police from gleefully taking very extreme measures.

The ADB was originally set to have its 2001 meeting in Seattle, but the bank decided instead it was a better idea to hold its annual meeting in an isolated military stronghold. They discovered that in Honolulu, on an island in the middle of the Pacific with the highest concentration of military personnel outside the Persian Gulf. Honolulu is an interesting choice when one considers that the WTO's next meeting is set to take place in Qatar, a place where repression of dissent is a matter of course.

Erik's article continued on the back page!

A Short History on Welfare Rights

by A. Lien

It is widely known...that nearly 8 million persons (half of them white) now subsist on welfare, but it is not generally known that for every person on the rolls at least one more probably meets existing criteria of eligibility but is not obtaining assistance.

The discrepancy...is an integral feature of the welfare system which, if challenged, would precipitate a profound financial and political crisis. The force for that challenge, and the strategy we propose, is a massive drive to recruit the poor onto the welfare rolls.

—Richard A. Cloward and
Frances Fox Piven, May 2, 1966

When Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, two young and activist social scientists, developed their *Strategy to End Poverty* in 1966, they couldn't have possibly expected that a Democratic President would "end welfare as we know" only 30 years later, yet he would not end poverty as well. In order to understand social movement around the issues of welfare, welfare reform and welfare rights, what led to the 1996 bill and how the welfare rights movement is organized in the 21st century, one has first to take a look back. It is necessary to regard how welfare came into existence and how its development from 1935 until today was influenced by the prevailing politics as well as by the way the issue of welfare was framed in ways of gender, class and race. Similarly it is important to look at the birth of the welfare rights movement in the 1960's, its downfall by the mid 70's, the reemergence of a welfare rights movement of the late 80's and 90's and the climate in which the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was passed in 1996. Lastly, I will examine the current welfare rights situation and take a closer look at one Harlem based, New York City welfare rights organization, namely Community Voices Heard. Here I will analyze the means of organization, the infrastructure, motivational abilities and goals and achievements of this grassroots organization.

Welfare History: 1935 – 1960s

The Social Security Act of 1935 was the beginning of institutionalized federal public subsidies to the poor and it thereby (partly) replaced charity as a means of helping the poor. The 1935 bill was

born out of the insights, which had been won by the catastrophic consequences of the Great Depression, and it was a child of the New Deal. It consisted of two parts; on one hand it created a social security system, namely the direct relief and the provisions for unemployment insurance. On the other hand it included the original provision for "welfare" – an income-based public assistance program for aged and blind adults and the Aid to Dependent Children, the ADC (which was renamed AFDC – Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1962). The ADC had developed out of Mother's Aid, a public assistance for predominately white widows with dependent children. From the very beginning the discourses were framed in the differentiation between deserving and undeserving mothers and between the tension of the work ethic of a free enterprise system and a bourgeoisie family ethic, which carried the idea that maternal employment negatively effected the development of children and that "deserving" women should therefore stay at home. Welfare from the very beginning thought only to give assistance to the children, to those who cannot help to be in such an unfortunate situation, but never to able-bodied individuals, childless couples and unemployed or low-income two-parent families, regardless of need. These people were considered guilty of failing the American self-made-man dream. The fact that in an rather unregulated capitalist system people might work yet still not earn enough for a living due to no or a low minimum wage was neglected from the very beginning.

The discussion about "deserving" and "un-deserving" ADC mothers was however not only motivated by the tension between work ethic and a patriarchal family ethic, but also manifested as a racial issue. As early as in the late 1930s (southern) states were worried about African-Americans on welfare.

"The number of Negro cases is few due the unanimous feeling on the part of the staff and board that there are more work opportunities for Negro women and to their intense desire not to interfere with local labor conditions. The attitude that they have always gotten along, and that 'all they'll do is have more children' is definite ... There is hesitancy on the part of lay boards to advance too rapidly over the thinking of their known communities, which see no reason why the employable Negro mother should not continue her usually sketchy labor or indefinite domestic service rather than receive a public assistance" (cited in Abramovitz 1996, 318/319).

This reluctance to qualify women of color for welfare not only shows a racist bias, that the mother who deserves to stay at home to provide nurturing for her children, is supposed to be white, and that the reproduction of African-Americans has to be regulated, it also demonstrates a regulation of the labor market in so far that cheap and predominantly black labor should be available.

The years from 1945 to 1962 show an increase in the numbers of people on public assistance. The ADC program grew from 372,000 families in 1940 to 803,000 in 1960. Costs rose from \$133 million to \$994 million. It also shows a change in the population segment, which applied for welfare. The numbers of widowed mothers on ADC dropped by 25% from 1948 to 1953, while the figures of unwed mothers rose by nearly 58%, of deserted or separated mothers by 27.6 and of divorced mothers by 9.1. By 1961 the majority of mothers on ADC were separated, divorced, or unwed (see Abramovitz 1996, 319-321). In this period the first major attack on welfare was designed. Public opinion already circled around today's familiar issues; rising costs, southern black migration and out-of-wedlock births. The discussion had strong racial overtones and was further influenced by the post World War II fear of gender disruption and the crisis of marriage.¹ In reality low wages and joblessness were the main reasons for being on public assistance, especially among black women,

who were reluctant to re-enter the domestic labor market. [i.e. as servants-they're only allowed occupation prior to WW2- ed.]

In 1950 the Notification of Law Enforcement Officers (NOLEO) amendment was passed by congress, which basically was thought to support the governmental search for absent fathers. Responding to alleged charges of welfare fraud the 1951 Jenner Amendment made for the first time the names of on ADC roles public. Most attempts to keep down the numbers of welfare recipients and to limit the eligibility of African-Americans however were made on a state level. Moral fitness standards were imposed on mothers on welfare. These means of control even included midnight raids by social workers who were searching for a man in the house who could be used as a substitute father.² However the 1950s amendments to the Social Security Act expanded coverage, raised public assistance benefits, provided federal aid for ADC families' medical expenses and established the fair hearing procedure. The 1956 Amendment to the Social Security Act for example urged counseling, guidance and rehabilitation and thereby made social services an important component of ADC. Generally the paradox of 'poverty amid plenty' became a public agenda in the early 1960's and with it welfare reform. The development of the poverty index in 1959 by the Social Security Administration fueled the discussion of poverty.

The 1962 Amendment to the Social Security Act (Social Service Amendments) changed the ADC to Aid To Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), which signaled a new family focus. The AFDC-UP program also provided public assistance to two-parent families with one unemployed parent and thereby extended a temporary measure from 1961 for five years. Additionally the link between work and welfare, which entered the public debate first in 1950's, was strengthened through work incentives, in particular the Community Work and Training Program (CWTP) of 1962 which is a forerunner of workfare mainly for male recipients. However it was in the 1960's when a mass movement rose for the first time of poor people who organized around the issues of welfare rights.

The Welfare Rights Movement of the 1960's

The time from 1961 to 1967 is often referred to as the time of welfare explosion as the numbers of welfare recipients rose from just over 3.5 million to almost 5.0 million (Abramovitz 1996, 334). Several factors came together in the 1960s to provide both the political and economic conditions, which gave rise to a protest movement on welfare rights. First, a definite consciousness of people's potentials emerged from the experiences of the civil rights movement and this changed political awareness supported a rising agitation among the urban poor and black. Second, favorable conditions like the Democratic policies of Kennedy and Johnson opened a legal path to welfare entitlements. Poverty was reemerging as a social issue. Furthermore, the controversial yet appealing framing of the movement with the "Strategy to End Poverty" developed by the social scientists Cloward and Piven promised both an immediate relief and a long-term strategy for the poor population of the United States. Their hypothesis was that if all "eligible people were informed of their legal rights to welfare and were supported in making demands for these benefits, the existing welfare system would collapse. In its place, it was hoped, a more adequate and humane system a guaranteed income system would be adopted" (West 1981, 24). This "strategy of crisis" was supposed to increase the power of the black urban population, to further created a crisis in the cities and finally lead to a reconsideration of the welfare systems as well as to "major economic and political reforms and redistribution of income on a more 'equitable and less tyrannical basis'" (ibid).

The Johnson Administrations "War on Poverty" in 1964 made more people aware of their welfare entitlement and its legal service provided people with means to defend their welfare rights. According to Abramovitz it was both the pressure of the National

Welfare Rights Organization and the civil rights movement that led to the removal of several barriers to AFDC eligibility by the Supreme Court: "It restricted home eligibility checks (1966), declared the residency requirements illegal (1967)³, outlawed midnight raids (1967), and abolished the man-in-the-house rule (1968)" (Abramovitz 1996, 335). The 1966 report of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, *Having the Power, We Have the Duty*, called for new strategies to eliminate poverty and reform the welfare system, like for example a guaranteed income for the poor. The same year, as Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was created, it seemed like a further political opening toward the issue of poverty, especially black poverty. I am not suggesting that these measures implemented a greater change than simply bringing the concern about especially black poverty into the public and political arena. Generally these acts were mostly a reaction to a strong civil rights movement in the last decade and were either never fully implemented or quickly renounced under a more conservative and republican government. The 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act ignored the recommendations of the Council on Public Welfare Report to continue a service strategy and to provide public aid as a matter of right and generally aimed at a restriction of welfare eligibility. However, the measures mentioned above in combination with the "Strategy to End Poverty" eventually made a 35 percent expansion of the population segment eligible for welfare possible. Piven and Cloward argue that "one major expression of the postwar black movement was the rise in demands for relief, especially after 1960 and particularly in the large urban centers of the North. (...) The magnitude of the gain can be measured by the numbers of additional families aided and by the additional billions of dollars distributed through the relief system. In 1960 there were only 745,000 families on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) rolls and they received payments amounting to less than \$ 1 billion; In 1972 the rolls reached 3 million families and the payments reached \$6 billion" (Piven 1979, 264).

It was a combination of many different economic, political and cultural factors that led to the immense expansion of welfare. West argues that,

"Demographic and political forces also accounted for much of the 'welfare explosion.' Population growth, rising divorce and illegitimacy rates, a demographic excess of women relative to men, and other such trends simply increased the demand for assistance. So did grassroots pressure, the liberalization of the AFDC program, and the expansion of the welfare state. The intensification of the civil rights struggle in the South, the riots in northern ghettos, and the Democratic Party's fear that the lack of progress in civil rights might reduce its support among black voters resulted in, among other things, broadened AFDC rules primarily in the more wealthy northern states" (Abramovitz 1996, 334)

A great impetus came from poor people themselves in the form of the welfare rights movement. Between 1963 and 1966 a multitude of Welfare Rights Groups arose: ANC Mothers Anonymous in Los Angeles, California, committee of Needy Families, Lower Eastside, New York City, Welfare Rights Organization (WRO), Oakland, California, Welfare Recipients League, Brooklyn, New York, others in Baltimore, Boston, and Ohio. The first Welfare Rights Group was formed in LA in 1963 to protest midnight raids and it ultimately grew into organiza

tion to help AFDC mothers win their rights from the welfare system. The Aid to Needy Children Mothers Organization (ANCMO) was organized by Ms. Johnnie Tillmon, a mother of six children, who became an activist after her own experience with a bureaucratic welfare system. She was to become elected chair of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in 1967. Tillmon thought that poor people needed services as well as needed opportunities to move out of welfare. She believed in grassroots organizing and opposed the dominance of white middle class movement leaders, who should support rather than control (see West 1981, 83/84). This philosophy was influential in the organizing model of the NWRO. The founding of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in 1967 was the highpoint of the welfare rights movement. Continuous and multifold activism from the early 1960's on had led to its beginning. In 1965 the New York's Committee on Welfare Families had its first meeting with city officials and achieved some minor victories like winter clothing and a formal grievance procedure. In May 1966, George Wiley opened the Poverty Rights Action Center (P/RAC) in Washington D.C. The P/RAC was supposed to serve as a national coordination center. A month later a ten-day march on the Ohio State Capital initiated by the Ohio Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare took place.

"On June 30, 1966, approximately 5,000 recipients and supporters participated in some part of the long march from Cleveland to Columbus to protest the cutbacks and the inadequacy of the benefit levels and to demand increase grants and more humane treatment by the welfare authorities. Concurrently, throughout the country, as a result of P/RAC's efforts, welfare demonstrations were held in '24 to 27 cities' to demand changes in the welfare system. This first major confrontation of the poor and their allies with the welfare establishment marked the birth of the National Welfare Rights Movement" (West 1981, 26/27).

This welfare rights event received national attention as major demonstrations in New York City and fifteen other cities (Boston, LA) were coordinated by the P/RAC. NWRO held its founding convention in August 1967 in Washington, D.C. It was headed by George Wiley who had been active in the civil rights movement through his activities in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The NWRO adopted Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward's "Strategy to End Poverty" to create a financial crisis in welfare in order to achieve substantial change like a guaranteed income.

Although NWRO was successful in mobilizing and organizing the urban poor, it struggled from the very beginning to obtain sufficient funding. According to West, from 1966-1969 "the major source of financial support for NWRO came from the organized church, private foundations, the United States Government and contributions from individuals" (West 1981, 30). As NWRO's infrastructures and programs expanded, its budgetary needs grew, its fund raising capacities however ceased in the early 1970's mostly due to a change in the political climate of the United States. When George Wiley left his position as the executive director in 1973 to organize a new Movement, the Movement for Economic Justice (MEJ), NWRO lost its major fundraiser and got more and more in debts despite several attempts to raise awareness and money for the cause. In 1975 the WRO finally closed its national headquarters.⁴ With the 1970's a continuous attack on welfare was launched which would get further impetus in the 1980's under

Reagan and climaxed in the destruction of "welfare as we know it" by a democratic president.

Social Movement Theory

Although the Welfare Rights Movement (WRM) did not really have mobilizing structures, it was however built on the organizational experiences of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), which had in a way already dealt with economic issues. Civil Rights Organization had always addressed the issues of poverty and they usually addressed it pertaining to the needs of all poor, black and white.⁵ In terms of existing political opportunity structures, it seems at first sight that the at least officially sympathetic attitude of the Kennedy and later the Johnson administrations and its programs like the War On Poverty and the OEO provided the external political opportunities for a WRM to come into existence. However, as mentioned above, economic justice and poverty had already been addressed by the CRM and these external political opportunities were reactions to over a decade of pressure by the CRM and many other factors like demographic and political changes, the discovery of the importance of black votes and a general liberalization of society. Additionally, a certain "radical flank effect" was created by the ongoing urban mass riots throughout the country between 1964 and 1968. The massive and intense threat of the discontented masses and the fear of a general radicalization of the African-American and poor population, encouraged an intensification of concern about poverty and race equality on the side of the government (see Piven 1979, 272/273). It seems like the relation between the challenging group and the political system was much more interactive and reactive on both sides that a strict political opportunities theory would suggest. Cultural dynamics were indeed also intensely important and central to the WRM. As I have already suggested, factors like more than a decade of CRM organizing, a general societal liberalization in the 60's plus an attack on traditional values and beliefs from all sides and a beginning of radicalization and the CRM and Black Power strongly influenced governmental decisions and the WRM development. However, what seems to have been vital for the progress of then WRM from the very beginning was the framing process. All along the question of how to frame a WRM in order not only to mobilize those who are afflicted by it, but also to gain a broader societal and above all financial support of the dominate middle class. By framing the movement in terms of an achievement of rights and entitlement to benefits, which should be provided by an affluent society, like the United States, and further by using the radical ideas of the "Strategy to End Poverty" - a long-term policy which nevertheless has a positive short-term effect (eligibility) - it was successful in mobilizing and organizing poor people. Additionally, transformative events like the unpleasant and humiliating personal experiences with the welfare bureaucracy and the feeling of empowerment achieved in successful legal and activist confrontation with the welfare system as well as the usage of means of protest (marches, sit-ins, legal activism, lobbying etc.), which were already familiar, and proven successful through the CRM played a big role in the initial success of the WRM. Moreover, it seems that although there was a white middle class presence in the leadership configurations of the WRM, there was an urge from the beginning to leave decision and policy making to those who are actually afflicted most by the ineffectiveness and hostility of the welfare system, namely black mothers on AFDC. West argues, "as early as 1966, signs of underlying conflict between the poor women and middle class organizers were already beginning to emerge, even before the formal organization of the national movement. The anomalous structure of black women as leaders and white males as supporters, further differentiated on the basis of class, was a constant source of tension that erupted repeatedly and increasingly over the years in different parts of the country" (West 1981, 82/83)

However, the specific radical rights/entitlement (guaranteed income) framing of the WRM was only partially and temporally limited successful outside of the afflicted group. In a society that is so much indoctrinated with a middle and upper class belief in personal and individual achievement accompanied by a Cold War suspicion towards collective acting and class war rhetoric and that is traditional hostile to the idea that the state is responsible for the general welfare of each individual citizen, the notion of welfare, poverty and a possible redistribution of wealth is generally very much stigmatized and unpopular. I am suggesting that in 1960's due to a general opening and liberalization of the American society and the pressure of the CRM, there was a brief moment where a political and partly cultural consensus was achieved that poor people might after all really be entitled to benefits and support of the state and they should therefore be provided for. This moment however soon vanished in the conservative political backlash of the early 1970's (and especially in the return of conservatism and Cold War Rhetoric of the Reaganites), a steadily worsening recession and a tripling of welfare costs. The idea of welfare entitlement and/or guaranteed income for the poor became increasingly unpopular, especially in the so-called liberal circles that were so far the only means of financial support for the NWRO besides the church organizations. The NWRO's desperate failing in trying to gain any funding for the organization which finally led to the closing of its offices is symptomatic and exemplary for the disappearance of a concern for America's poor and unfortunate. The next decades would be shaped by the attempt to reduce the welfare rolls by all means rather than providing means and assistance to welfare recipients.

1980's and 1990's Assault on Welfare

The 1980's and 90's stress on a conservative work ethic idea with its aim to let poor people work off their benefits can be traced back to the late 60's. The 1967 amendments introduced the Work Incentive Program (WIN), which "transformed official AFDC policy from one that subsidized the reproductive and maintenance functions of 'deserving' poor women at home to one that also directly subsidized the low paid employment of all AFDC mothers. The WIN program made AFDC's long-standing but largely unofficial work policy for women explicit (Abramovitz 1996, 338). Under the presidency of both Reagan and Bush the rhetoric towards mothers on welfare became more and more hostile. Reagan who had already shown his antagonism towards welfare in his 1967 inaugural speech now openly referred to "Welfare Queens," an expression that reminds us of Senator Russell Long of Louisiana's allusion to welfare mothers as "brood mares" in the late 1960's. In 1967 his statement had led to a 'Brood Mare' sit-in initiated by the NWRO. In the 1980's and 90's "Welfare Queen" would become a standard expression of tabloid media.

The new political moral consensus had a twofold approach to the issue of welfare. First it implemented a conservative and punitive work ethic on women on welfare. Simultaneously it enforced the conservative politics' aim at a restoration of the family ethic, i.e. a two parent, male headed heterosexual family. The 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (OBRA) limited the eligibility to AFDC. As a result over 400,000 working welfare mothers lost their AFDC grant between 1981 and 1983. At the same time more coercive work requirements were inflicted. The 1988 Family Support Act replaced WIN with the more coercive Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Program (JOBS). The climax of the demolition of the remaining welfare system however came under a Democratic president. Bill Clinton had already announced in his 1992 campaign that he would "end of welfare as we know it" in order to win conservative votes with a tough approach on welfare recipients policy. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 indeed changed welfare in a dramatic way. These were the major changes: It replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with

the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), it established a five year lifetime time limit on federal aid, it introduced work obligations for parents of pre-school age children, including infants and toddlers without a sufficient child care program and it restricted the access of non-citizens to welfare. Thus it abolished the notion of entitlement for governmental benefits and consequently a huge amount of people were not eligible for TANF and the welfare roles decreased. This was claimed as a success; however there are no real follow up studies on what happens to people after the drop out of the roles. From what is known there is hardly social upward movement; quite the contrary. As Congress placed a specific time limit on its funding, the impact and consequences of the 1996 act however will surely be discussed more in 2002 as Congress must enact new legislation in order to continue federal funding for many of the 1996 provisions by October 1, 2002.

The new welfare rights movement

The plans for and discussions around the Family Support Act initiated a new circle of visible protest around welfare rights. On June 30, 1987 the National Welfare Rights Union (NWRU), a spiritual child of the NWRO, was founded at the 1987 Welfare Rights Meeting in Washington, D. C. to defeat the Family Support Act. Though it failed in this particular initiative it seemed as if a new welfare rights movement was about to emerge under, however, much less favorable conditions. NWRU, the National Homeless Union (NHU) and the National Anti Hunger Coalition organized around the interconnected the issues of poverty, homelessness and welfare. Together they eventually formed the National Up & Out of Poverty Now Coalition in 1988. Both national and local organizations started organizing and tried mobilizing around poverty and welfare rights. However, despite an existing welfare rights movement and protest like the 1995 March For Our Lives or the tent city on the steps of the state capitol, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) on August 22, 1996. Two factors are of interest in this matter: the political climate that created an atmosphere where a democratic President could without much resistance sign such a bill and the public opinion which was increasingly informed about welfare and welfare recipients in a very stereotypic and partly racist and sexist way. The image most dominant in the media was that of an imaginary legion of single teenage mums, all of them women of color, who get more and more children taking advantage of welfare. This stereotype is not a new one. Already in 1967 Senator Russell Long of Louisiana referred to mothers on welfare as "brood mares." Back then he met the protest and disapproval of a strong Welfare Rights Movement. In the 90's affluent talk show stars scolded teenage moms on their shows. It seemed as if young Black or Hispanic mother's on welfare were the new Public Enemy no.1. In this climate it is not surprising that the awakening resistance to President Clinton's welfare reform was either weak or not covered/supported by the press.

What is especially surprising is that the feminist movement did not react quickly to what would turn out as an assault at women in general and on poor women of color in particular. Eva Feder Kittay remarks that in her essay *Dependency, Equality, and Welfare* that she "was shocked at the silence and impotence of the organized Left in defending the interests of poor women and their families (as well as poor immigrant communities). (...) few feminists had been roused from their seeming indifference to the war against poor women. (...) The truth, of course was more complicated (...). In fact, voices were raised on behalf of the....

millions of mothers and children whose fate hung in the balance as President Clinton decided whether to veto the welfare legislation coming out of Congress. There were feminists and welfare activists who were working against punitive welfare reform-lobbying and demonstrating-even though the media scarcely noticed them" (Kittay 1998, 33). Within weeks after the first welfare reform bill was passed by House of Representatives on March 24, 1995 "a group of women, experts and historians of welfare and academics and activists on women's rights came together to form the Women's Committee of 100. The slogan they chose was "A war against poor women is a war against all women," thereby reminding that greater issues were at work here.

Community Voices Heard

Today there are approximately 17 organizations that deal with welfare rights issues, low-income people and poverty/hunger issues in New York State. Ten of these groups are situated in New York City. These organizations are ACORN New York, Community Voices Heard, Housing Works, Make the Road By Walking, National People's Campaign, The Welfare Reform Network, WEP Workers Together, Workfairness, Welfare Rights Initiative and the Welfare Rights Union/The New Abolitionist. The only Harlem based organization, which supports low-income people, is Community Voices Heard (CVH). CVH is a grass-roots organization for low-income people, mostly women on welfare. CVH was started as an independent project of the Hunger Action Network of New York State (HANNYS) in 1996 with the goal to create an organization that is membership based and thereby directly involves low-income people in organizing and developing strategies around welfare rights issues. Principally, CVH attempts "a multi-pronged strategy which includes public education, community and legislative organizing, leadership development, training low-income people about their rights, political education and direct-action issues campaigns" (CVH WebPages). However, strategies are always developed by the members of CVH and therefore, the main emphasis is put on whatever issues the members involved choose. In the last year the main stress has been put into the study of and protest about the Work Experience Program (WEP). WEP is New York City's version of workfare and it has had a big impact both on the lives of low-income people and on the community. Tens of thousand low-income people are contemporarily working off their welfare checks in city agencies. However, this coercive work initiative affects the lives of the people mostly in negative ways. In the summer of 1999, CVH "initiated a research project to determine what workfare workers were doing at their Work Experience Program (WEP) assignments in New York City" (CVH Report 1999, 4). The results showed that WEP workers did not just perform make-work assignments but were performing jobs critical to the infrastructure of New York City. These jobs had often more responsibility than entry-level jobs. However, by working far below minimum wage WEP was partly displacing paid union entry-level employees. This way New York City has a part of its service provided by workfare workers, thereby saving money, which would have been spent on union wages for regular employees. The CVH report states, "workfare creates a source of cheap labor for the City of New York and threatens the city labor force because of the huge financial incentive to the city to expand workfare as a inexpensive way to get the city's entry level positions filled" (CVH Report 1999, 7). WEP workers are usually not hired by the agency they work for. Additionally, welfare recipients who were pursuing a college education while on welfare had to drop out of school due to their work assignments. The number of welfare parents in the City Univer-

sity of New York (CUNY) system has declined by half already in 1998, two years after Clinton's welfare reform. Additionally, mothers on welfare face the dilemma of either leaving their children at inadequate childcare or losing their benefits if they do not show up at their workfare assignment. In addition to their 35 hour work week the more than 40,000 people who are currently in New York City's WEP have to engage in mandatory programs "such as job search, which requires workfare workers and public assistance recipients to engage in useless activities looking for work, such as calling up store and businesses in the phone book" (CVH Report 1999, 5). Very often WEP workers are also assigned to a workplace outside of their community which causes additional transports costs and also makes their engagement in education, family life and welfare rights organization much more difficult. Currently CVH members are pursuing three campaigns: The Transitional Job Program, the Empire State Program and the Welfare Center Campaign. Community Voices Heard has in coalition with other community organizations, unions and social service agencies generated an alternative program to the WEP. This New York City Transitional Jobs Program plans to create, over a period of three years, 7,500 public sector and not-for-profit living-wage jobs (paying \$7.50/hour), with a real education and training component, for public assistance recipients. Although the bill was voted into law on March 29th, 2000 and Mayor Giuliani's immediate veto was overruled in April, he has, despite legal requirement for him to do so, failed to implement the program by January 1, 2000. At the very moment CVH in coalition with other organization is working in legal and activist ways to get the bill implemented. The campaign for the Empire State Program is trying to get the same bill passed statewide. CVH calls the passing of the Transitional Jobs Program bill its "first victory in [their] fight for jobs for people on welfare" (CVH Newsletter 1999, 1). The Welfare Center Campaign protests the conditions at Welfare Centers, where welfare recipients face disadvantaging conditions such as: no translators are provided, the case workers cannot be reached or the case gets closed without notification.

What is remarkable about CVH is that it is not only member based but also member run, i.e. led and directed by low-income people themselves. Both the impatience with advocacy organizations which speak *for* welfare recipients and the wish to empower low-income people to speak out for themselves and use their experiences to create a better welfare policy have influenced CVH's structure. CVH regularly holds teach-ins or reach-outs at Welfare Centers and Shelters to organize and inform low-income people.

CVH invites people to become members and thereby active in its community and citywide public policy organizing. It also provides leadership development training to enable "members to plan and execute organizing campaigns in their neighborhoods and communities, as well as to assume leadership roles in activating citywide and broader campaigns around public policy issues" (CVH WebPages). By empowering and directly involving low-income people in the organizational structure CVH not only assures that the issues addressed are those who most affect low-income people and are chosen by themselves, it also has highly motivated members who share the experience of having spoken and acted for themselves rather than having others decide over their fates and issues. CVH members are highly motivated by the experiences they make. It is not surprising that people who have for a long time been simply been treated as a nuisance by a bureaucratic and uncaring welfare system feel extremely empowered by the experience that they are actually listened to if they raise their voice together with others. The Members also stress both their personal experience of deprivation and the uniqueness of CVH's approach. A re-occurring moment in most interviews was the emphasis that CVH is actually member-led.

Another important factor about CVH is that it organizes mostly low-income women and mothers. Although the interviewed

Short History of Welfare by A. Lien continued..

persons stress that CVH is not a woman-only organization and that they want more men involved, the members are dominantly women as they are most afflicted by welfare politics. CVH also organizes dominantly though not exclusively women of color. This again is due on one hand to the specific group that seems to be most affected by the welfare policy in New York City and on the other hand its due to the community where CVH is situated, namely Harlem. There exists a sense that is important for women of color to organize around poverty issues, share experiences and collectively fight back. Besides organizing and training their members for leadership roles in the movement which includes giving them legal and political information, as well as practical skill development in how to organize and/or speak at press conferences and rallies. CVH uses mainly direct action. The members protest in rallies, demonstrations and at press conferences. They organize marches through New York City and thereby create a new visibility of low-income people. Members also meet with politicians on city and state levels providing them with the other side of the story and protesting their political decision. Additionally, CVH sponsors and initiates research on the effects of the welfare reform on low-income people such as the 1999 WEP – *Work Experience Program. New York City's Public Sector Sweat Shop Economy Report.*

The approach, which CVH takes, is truly original and the combination of training, empowering and mobilizing low-income people proves to be very successful, especially in the light of their success in passing the Transitional Job Program Bill. CVH tends to have a high fluctuation regarding members, which is mostly due to their insecure status. A different work assignment might either take them out of the community where CVH is situated or a permanent job might take up too much time. However, though CVH does not provide specific job training – CVH has no facilities for such training – members leave CVH with specific skills, which they achieved through the leadership training and the transformative moment of empowerment. Though advocacy organizations are also very important in the welfare rights movement, CVH's approach seems extremely convincing as they support low-income people to raise their voices, speak for themselves, make demands and become visible. A strong welfare rights movement can however neither neglect the necessity for advocacy, service or lobbying and a multi-organizational and truly collaborative approach is probably to be the most successful.

Conclusion

When we look at the Welfare Rights Movement today we have to keep two things in mind. First, that there is a long history of low-income people protesting economic injustice in the United States from which the new movement can draw experiences. However, it is important to notice that every specific movement is rooted in its time, its political opportunities and social environments. Therefore, it has to be analyzed in regards to its adaptability to the current situation. Second, the discussion about welfare and poverty and especially the debate on welfare expanses are political yet not real ones as the amounts spent on the different welfare benefits both by the government and the states are minimal in comparison to other items in the budget. In 1994, the total amount spent on AFDC expenditures in the U.S was \$26,032,086. In the fiscal year of 1997 there were 4,034,699 AFDC cases in the U.S. as opposed to 4,870,903 cases in 1995. By September 2000 this number had decreased to 2,186,508 cases/families. In the 1960's 1.7% percent of the population received welfare benefits, in 1971 it was 4.9%. This number grew to its highest point 1976, namely 5.2%. Ever since then the numbers have been slightly decreasing until the late 1980's to 4.4%. From 1990 to 1994 the numbers grew from 4.6% to 5.5%. In 1996 4.8% of the US population was on welfare, by July 2000 it was only 2.1%. The total TANF expenditures (combined Federal funds and State MOE funds) for the Fiscal

Year 1999 were \$22.6 billion, the same as last year, as opposed to the \$265.5 billion military budget of the same year. The decline of numbers of people on TANF is widely celebrated. The recipients who have dropped out of the welfare system however have mostly not moved out of poverty, but have just ceased to get benefits and they are being left alone to struggle for themselves. The debate is one that has to be seen in a broader context. The question is not whether the U.S. as the richest nation can afford to help its low-income people, but is it willing to do so? As the discussion is led today, it obviously isn't. Both on the side of the media and politicians there seems to be little understanding or willingness to help low-income people to get off welfare and move out of poverty. The discussion is still shaped by the imaginary fear that people are taking advantage of the welfare system, that the same people have to be forced into independency, even if that means working under inhuman conditions and without adequate childcare, and that the reproduction of these people has to be controlled and limited. What is neglected is that a lot of people on welfare actually are low-income people who already work but however do not earn enough to make a living. If we look back at the radical approach of the 1960's we realize that several factors came together in the 1960s to provide both the political and economic conditions, which gave rise to a protest movement on welfare rights. First, a definite consciousness of people's potentials emerged from the experiences of the civil rights movement and this changed political awareness supported a rising agitation among the urban poor and black. Second, favorable conditions like the Democratic policies of Kennedy and Johnson opened a legal path to welfare entitlements. Poverty was reemerging as a social issue. Furthermore, the controversial yet appealing framing of the movement with the "Strategy to End Poverty" developed by the social scientists Cloward and Piven promised both an immediate relief and a long-term strategy for the poor population of the United States. Today, it seems there is little interest to put the fate of low-income people on the political agenda in a favorable way.

The American Welfare system looks back on a long and troublesome history. From the beginning it has been a controversial and highly debated topic. Discussions have been led throughout its existence on its limitation, on the question of entitlement and on who deserves what and why in benefits from the state. One should not forget that the debates, which are led today, are not new ones but have accompanied the welfare system for a long time. The racist and sexist rhetoric of "brood mares" and "welfare queens" was already used in the late 1960's and the attempt to control the economic and reproductive life of poor people of color was and is part not only of the welfare system but also of American society in general. It might not be wise to enter the trap of reacting to this discussion of work ethic and reproductive control as if it was a debate on real existing social facts. "For the master's tool will never dismantle the master's house" (Lord 1984, 123). Any change to the economic conditions of low-income people besides temporary relief, has to go hand in hand with a broader approach to change in American society and it has to address the issues of education (free access to quality education for everybody), property ownership (affordable housing, redistribution of wealth), labor (raising of the minimum wage level, strengthening of union and labor rights) and political power (radical transformation of an ineffective political power system) in order to achieve sufficient overall transformation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.....

¹⁾ I am referring here to the effects of wartime on the numbers of women in the workforce and the societal urge to keep these changes as only temporary disruptions of wartime. African-American.....

.... women could not participate as much as white women in the experience of holding relatively well-paid jobs. However, on one hand is the post WWII discourse on the disruption of the heterosexual two-parent family with a male breadwinner as real as it represents at the same time imaginary fears of gender imbalance. On the other hand it seems that African-American women are scapegoats or fill-ins in these discussions. For a discussion of working women and gender in wartime USA see Dabakis, Melissa, *Gendered Labor. Norman Rockwell's Rosie the Riveter and the discourses of wartime womanhood*. In: Melosh, Barbara ed. *Gender and American History Since 1890*. Routledge: London, 1993.

²⁾ "Substitute Father" rules were enacted by many states in the 1950s. Basically any man who was found to be in an intimate contact with a mother on ADC, could be defined as a "Substitute Father" who should provide for her children and thus their public assistance was ended.

³⁾ Many (southern) states had introduced these residency requirements in order to keep migrating African-American from being eligible for welfare.

⁴⁾ For an extremely detailed description of the rise and fall of the NWRO, see West, Guida. *The National Welfare Rights Movement: The Social Protest of Poor Women*. Praeger: New York, 1981.

⁵⁾ On civil rights groups and economic questions, see Hamilton, Dona Cooper and Hamilton, Charles V. *The dual agenda of African American organizations since the New Deal: social welfare policies and civil rights*. In: Political Science Quarterly v. 107 (Fall '92) p. 435 -52.

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Community Voices Heard

<http://www.cvhaction.org/>

FROM WELFARE STATE TO PRISON STATE

Imprisoning the American poor

<http://www.en.monde-diplomatique.fr/1998/07/14prison>

Discovering America As It Is

by Waldas Anelauskas -

excerpt from Chapter 11 "Workfare"

With millions more people forced into the labor market, the downward pressure on wages in American will grow tremendously. A study conducted by the Economic Policy Institute projects that if one million former welfare recipients enter the labor market, wages for the bottom thirty million workers, or those making less than \$7 an hour, will fall dramatically. According to Lawrence Mishel and John Schmitt of the EPI, the wages of low-wage workers would have to fall by 11.9% nationally to accommodate a million former welfare clients. [this on top of the 20% they've dropped in twenty years-ed] . Mishel and Schmitt say that the net result would be annual loss of \$36 billion in income to low-wage workers throughout the country, or \$8.5 billion more than total federal and state spending on AFDC in 1994. (!)

A national study on the impact of welfare reform predicts there will only be one low-skill job for every two welfare recipients targeted to enter the job market. The report, released in 1997 by D.C.-based Jobs for Justice, said that while for 1997 and 1998 the economy should create 704,100 low-skill jobs, nearly 1.3 million people are projected to leave the welfare rolls and look for work. "We have to point out the fatal flaw of welfare reform as it's being implemented—that there's only one job out there for every two people who will be looking to work."

Welfare reform—despite the platitudes used in selling it to the public—is little more than a scheme to boost corporate profits even further by forcing wages down..... "Workfare" is the term commonly used now for the programs in which welfare recipients must perform work in exchange for assistance they get. Poor people are forced by the government to work for pay rates often below even the minimum wage. ... Under Giuliani's rule, NYC has reduced the city payroll by about 20,000 full time employees, or about 10%, and now utilizes almost 40,000 workfare slaves instead. "We're doing the same jobs as regular workers, but we're not getting paid for it," said one of NYC's Health Department cleaners, who works 24 hours a week and receives not wages but only a \$124 welfare check every two weeks. This means she's being paid about \$2.60 an hour! People on workfare typically receive only about \$5,000 a year in assistance. In contrast, a civil service janitor earns about \$20,000 a year and a civil service painters makes as much as \$40,000 in NYC.



"Keep that well in mind my friend. Because there are revolutions and revolutions. Some revolutions change only the governmental form by putting in a new set of rulers in place of the old. These are political revolutions, and as such they often meet little resistance. But a revolution that aims to abolish the entire system of wage slavery must also do away with the power of one class to oppress another. That is, it is not any more a mere change of rulers, or government, not a political revolution, but one that seeks to alter the whole character of society. That would be a social revolution." A. Berkman 1920



Opinion: Andrew

Agent from Manchester

IN SAN FRANCISCO, USA

to escape the apathy of phony tony and the arrival of the bleeding euro, you decide to jet off to the foreign shores of the old ally. northern english culture, as this what we are talking is exchanged for the highest standing of living in the civilized world. the mid west winters are brutal, the bowling is good, the locals large and friendly, bartabs are low, but those winters, forget it. in the twilight years of your life you fancy a bit of health, fresh air and fun, sun sun sun. so the northern english damp and chill, the dark satanic mills of rochdale are a memory as you start dealing with the humane bar times and margaritas. early closing and warm beer are jokes to be bandied about in the court of bar hopping. a weed connection is established, at a price, so life gets a little sweeter. the job sucks, but doesn't everbodys'? even jesus had issues with his gaffer. the inner city life of manchester, the home of skag and thieving, rave culture e's and baddies gets forgotten as you immerse yourself in the sf life and the mission culture. the mission. just like moss side back home, change the music from that polka beat to a taste of that crucial dub. the off licenses (liquor stores) boast red stripe and pills, rather than the tecate and 40's. you don't get the Caribbean jerk chicken and curry goat from a handsome black man, but the burritos here do the trick. keep you slim and soak up the booze. the need for more culture (or cultah) persists. to find your own, your people, to belong. to feel almost disfunctionally at home. so you try a game. sports dude, the great leveller, the working class past times for blokes to drink and bond.

to swim in the the crowd mob culture – to belong. you see this is where the culture hits you smack dab between the eyes and persists. baseball costs. its nice, the people are nice, the players indifferent, its cold and fucking expensive. its so sanitized, legalized, sterilized, hey i ain't knocking it, its the nature of the beast / business. the sport got left behind years ago. stats and more stats. i wonder if americans do stats on everything, like how many shits you take in a week. just a thought. where is the true atmosphere, where is the threat of violence, sport is localized war right? so lets get hostile? where's the swearing, the spitting, the fowl and abusive language? where's the abuse, the taunts? the fun?

but first what is culture? what indeed in this perverse tirade i'm shooting at you? if you're rich its the ballet, or the opera or listening to phil collins without fecking like a cunt or the least bit guilty. its about appreciating the finer points of jazz trip-lets, its about looking at modern art without thinking the artist is smarter than you or just taking the piss. its about going to a play and laughing at the appropriate bits

and being so fucking smug that you even laugh at the trite bits. its learning a foreign language by choice, leaving half a drink in a bar. or looking at a bottle of wine and not reading the strength first. i still can't do that. culture= man, art music literature. it gives you wings apparently. culture is something indigenous to a person or group that makes them feel better about themselves. justify that.

so what about sport, english sport, soccer, footie? i won't pontificate about working class culture, or the rape of the game, the creeping sanity, the zealous cops, the ever increasing prices, the stupid wages the media manipulation. its still a beautiful fucking game. still feudal, still emotional, still a working blokes civilized game. all i know is all i know. there are 2 teams in manchester. i know about 1 of them. only one of them never moved to LA even, though they should have done. that team with the twat with the mowhawk this week and the scrawny wife. i support the other team.

the game has changed. the goalposts have moved. it used to be cheap, you used to be able to stand. you used to be able to battle with opposing fans, with little intervention from the dibble (police) half the time the police were up for it and it was a good old punch up. no-one ever got killed and a broken nose or a shiner always got you some attention at school on monday. maine road (manchester city's ground) is pretty much still the same. inner city football ground, terraced back to back houses packed in tight. no gardens, 30 years ago few of these houses had inside toilets. 12 decent boozers (pubs) in spitting distance. large west indian community that was brought in the 50's / 60's to do the jobs no one wanted in the post war euphoria and left pretty much dis-enfranchised ever since. piss cheap housing, students, providing local sport and rich pickings for the local baddies. brassers (prostitutes) sleazers, dealers pimps shootings, 15 year old school kids on mountain bikes outrunning the cops rocks in the mouth then fuck off over the waste ground. then school on monday. weed is not an issue any more. the old front line with the blues parties, where it was a quid to get in and a quid for a can of breaker, earth shaking stereos playing the old school reggae til dawn are gone. is this culture? to digress a bag of brown is cheaper than a bag of weed and lasts a damn site longer. why get punched?

on saturday the inner city sprawl is transformed. 30,000 plus of the local gentry descend. you pick your boozers with precision. its saturday. its gotta be right. you pick your mates, plan the drinking / drug taking balance it against last nights intake put on the shirt and off you go. bob's yer uncle. we call it mecca. its the closest i ever get to my apathetic god. some more history. if you think i'm just spouting shit about the importance of the game and its roots in working class development then read on. we are all cursed from day 1 for the love of the game. the pistols were arsenal fans. the guuners. rotten and wobble and co used to sing "we're so pretty, we hate man city". i read that in that in that rotten book. the clash were damn good footie players. (showing age here) jonesey was a demon. the london calling sessions were kept sane by healthy kick rounds a couple of times a day, fuelled by special brew and spliff.anthony burgess went to

Andrew continued....

see manchester city as boy. he learnt to swear on the terraces at maine road. he was hooked. so lets move on.

you're still stinking from the night before. head wrapped in the cotton wool from the constant stream of spliff strong lager and fuck knows what else. you've gotta live a little. you know? fry up breakfast at some understanding mothers, roll a few fatties for the game, you often need them. grab a couple of tins (beers) for the walk to the appointed boozers. claremont road, the beehive, thousands of boisterous aggressive happy, short haired, long haired old young, drunk, very drunk young, trendies, casuals, men women kids, taking back the town. the rastas look on amused, sell the odd weed, the cops look away, its their culture init? after all we don't want the riots of 81 again now do we? the liquor stores do a roaring trade. most pubs are so packed it take so long to get served, you just buy some tins and drink on the streets (the fuckers haven't made that illegal (yet) you buy your ale and stand. stories drift by, bits of conversations caught on the wind. games remembered, night club conquests, some bad drugs, getting ripped off, who's rolling the next spliff, who's buying, who's drinking, who is gonna score first. the usual. is this living or what? ".....so anyway the clock strikes 12 the family come in, i come up for air, she straightens herself out, her mam kisses me on the chops and my fucking face is covered with daughters fanny batter. i'll never forget that new years eve...."

the away fans coaches crawl down the street at 5 miles an hour with the police escort. the tension mounts, a lot of swearing gestures giving the v's (fingers), its most in fun, but deep down you mean it. you stand (it is a day of standing) and inbetween the songs and the alcohol, and the dope and yer shitty job and yer shitty reluctant girlfriend and yer shitty car and yer shitty flat and yer shitty shitty taste you feel danin fucking good and you belong. you wear the shirt, you know all the players names, you know the history, you've been in the fights, you've been to hillsborough and valley parade. you saw us beat united 5-1. you saw rosler throw his boots into the crowd, you get a tear in your eye when you think about kinky, how he used to weave through players like they were nailed down, to slot it past the keeper. channon with his pete townsend air guitar goal salute. you belong. at the bassball i felt like an imposter. the uninvited guest at the wedding. the unknown mourner. back home every player has a song written for him, by the fans. new songs appear old ones are remembered. there is no 7th innings stretch. what if i don't want to stretch? you get personal. its like you know these people. after all if you have a good seat, you can be 10 feet away from them. you can almost hear them sweat.

the abuse of everyone involved in the game is key. everyone is fair game. from the referee, the linesmen, the cops, the stewards, the other team, shit players in your own team. if one of your players is "not fit to wear the shirt" he

knows it. most abuse is saved for the away fans. they expect it, they take it and give it. mostly its just foul-mouthed banter, but it can develop. don't get me wrong, i don't want to go back to the bad times of the 80's, with darts being thrown and sharpened coins launched into the crowds, but some healthy threats get the blood pumping. its funny. you find someone in the crowd who's fat or bald or ugly or wearing a shit jacket and single him (or her) out and start the abuse. before you know it 5-10 thousand people are joining the chant "you fat bastard, you fat bastard" i know its childish and not pc, but when was football ever pc? if you can't take it.....

drinking 5,6,7 beers fast a few tokens onto the north stand, the rush, the noise the excitement. half time comes the 1st half was a blur. so much stimulation within 45 minutes. half time more beer and reflection. more conversation. win or lose we'll be back next week. kenny ain't coming to birmingham next week. still got a warrant out on him from last year for running on the pitch. we don't do burnley on principle. flanny got a brick in the face in the 70's. we don't go on principle.

at the bassball i shouted something like "go bondsy" when he hit that grand slam. people looked at me weird. i felt like banquo's ghost. you've got to make these players your own, otherwise you don't what? i want my culture on my own terms while it still lasts, seeing it through bloodshot eyes with bloodshot memories.

thatcher hated football. hated the fans. hated it. the dark ages of 79 and onwards. fans in cages, segregated, herded like cattle to and from the games. kept in forcibly after the game had finished (which is illegal - detained without charge) for 1/2 an hour to an hour after the home fans have been dispersed. all seating for all major grounds. controlled by murdoch and other big money media outfits dictating when games would be played to ensure maximum coverage the world over. so what of the beautiful game? isn't the working class allowed its bit of freedom, its escape. aren't the police who diligently film the supporters only working class scum like us? aren't they football fans? shit they get paid overtime to watch it for free. i knew i'd missed my calling. or have they too subscribed to the sanitized popular view of the that its just a bit of fun, that its a sport. that riot and race and rock n roll have no place here. with the demise of decent music in the uk the close you get to a good gig on a regular basis is the saturday fixture of beer and cheap pot. people tend to forget that large section of the hacienda rave culture followers - the casuals revelled on on saturday afternoons still e'd up and buzzing from friday night. who is gonna deny saturdays kids?

how did we come to this impasse? why is the national game so important? what is the history which pushes so? what is the defective gene that makes millions of people pay good money week in week out to be treated like animals by the cops, to pay through the nose for often lack-lustre entertainment? how did soccer start? a form of wide game existed in the middle ages where rival villages would fight over possession of an inflated sheeps bladder. the point being to get the bladder through the doorway of the opposing villages appointed hostelry. its all about drinking. this very act forever ensures the roll of physical contact and alcohol as an integral part of the saturday ritual. naturally the clergy hated it. licensed anarchy fuelled by beer. sounds like football to me. it is only recently that the game has been played on sundays. other versions

existed where the "ball" was a pony keg of ale. similar principle. while kings played "shuttlecock" at hampton court, the rabble rabbled on. through strikes and famine and war and peace. so what of war? isn't footie war at a local level? why are yorkshire teams plagued by racist thugs. on and off the pitch? the scum that follows leeds? war of the roses perhaps? lancashire versus yorkshire. lancastrians against the yorkshiremen. wasn't this all about the house of tudor? i digress. london clubs - the capital - are awash with money, foreign players, and charge the most for entry in the country. wigan are still shit. millwall is racist. "we are millwall everybody hates us and we don't care" the 70's and 80's football violence reached epidemic proportions so the press would have us believe. the cages went up. cages at a sporting event. serious. locked in 8 / 10 foot high cages to contain the hooligan element. it seems so....archaic. left wing councils acted with the same knee jerk reactions as they did when punk hit. it was labour councils that stopped the pistols playing, not the right wing. politicians hate music and football unless there are votes involved. so why keep returning to rock and roll? the pistols film did paint a bleak but accurate picture of post-war britain. post-war? in the 60's there was still bomb damage visible, bomb craters in city centres waiting to be filled. in the 70's the temporary housing built to re-house people who's homes had been destroyed were still in use. after the initial boom of the 60's britain did what it did best. got miserable. forget all that shite about the 25th anniversary of queen lizzie. england stank.

football was the same price as going to a movie. saturday, the game or a film? there has always been fighting at football, drunken skirmishes. knives were not used then. that was an 80's phenomenon. thankfully that has pretty much died out. regional divides divide football fans, though most youths won't know why through ages past the issues are lost. there was an incident at leeds in the 70's where a local manchester scout troop was taken to the game by the troupe leader. a gang of excited 10 year olds and a woman leader. city won. the leeds fans (grown men) steamed into the troupe. the night finished with the whole troop crying in a leeds police station. the leader had a black eye and runour has it a few loose teeth. put them in cages. they are scum, off with his head? its still a beautiful game. did they go back. course they did. 70's, total segregation happened. police escorts, and the fighting increased so the press would tell us. we never noticed any change. weapons technology becomes obsolete so quickly. bottles and cans get banned from the ground. outside the ground a bottle full of piss is a nasty weapon. it hurts and you get wet, but no one gets killed. coins hurt. especially if the edges are sharpened. darts were naughty. they fly for a good distance. a copper once caught one right on the nose. front page news. the press loved it, the government turned the screw on the animals, the scum - us. cops get paid. anyone who's been thrown out of a ground or battered in the cells will feel no sympathy. something had to give. thatcher reigned supreme. unemployment stretched to 3 million, what else had the nation to do? the 80' and 90's football disasters. valley parade where an antique wooden

stand went up in smoke after the collection of 20 years plus of paper and associated shit went up in smoke after a particularly hot summer. people died. the copper with his hair on fire. enduring images. heysel disaster, the government and the press loved it. english clubs were banned from europe for years. we are a warring nation. we've been at war with every country in europe practically over the course of time. how can you combat that conditioning? hillsborough everything changed. the cages that were to keep the fans in did just that. they crushed people as the game was due to kick off. people died again. was it 79 or 179. no more cages but on whose hands is the blood?

didn't we play football on christmas day in 1914 with jerry in no-mans-land, then return to fighting on the 26th? pipes of peace heads for goalposts enduring images. football is war we love it so. when you're a kid growing up in england before the digital age. your team defined who you were. it was regional your team chose you, you played war as a child constantly. if it wasn't ww2 it was cowboys and indians, cops and robbers. later on it became football beer and rock n roll. poor kids could make a life. everyone can play the game. all you need is a ball and a bit of land, concrete or whatever.

so you stand as the great thirty-something, indifferent job, reasonable financial security reluctant sex life (can you blame her?) mortgage and foreign holidays, fighting off the thoughts of breeding and the great wonderlust returns. with constraints and work and partners its often the only chance you get to see your old mates. drinking buddies, battle hardened and cynical over the decades. to wallow with the great unwashed. in shakespeare's time the bard though great was not held in such reverence. his plays involved drunken audience participation. heckling was encouraged. the globe had a "pit" at the front for the most rowdy. it was written with the masses in mind. people could take it to their hearts. spear had royal patronage, he knew who his bigger audience was. bums on seats pays. so what of it all. where goes this as the season gains momentum. the world cup is around the corner. not the world series played by 2 countries. is that the world? would you ever hear "who the fucking hell are you?" shouted by 5000 fans at a giants game? would you ever hear that same crowd questioning the parentage of barry bonds. beckham is often asked about his wives sexual preferences. now tell me that's not funny.

will pitch invasions happen to stop a game when the giants are losing on a wednesday night? will an industrial firework be fired access a pitch killing a grandfather? will a government minister fuck a prostitute in his football shirt then be on the front of all the papers? will phony Tony suddenly love the game when some votes are at stake. you think all this between pints while sharing a spliff with a complete stranger thinking about colin bell and marsh and young and summerbee and goater and lee and is that nick leeson over there having a pint. the bloke that brought down the barings bank. and you know it is. he's drinking the same beer as you and he's a blue (manchester city). i know i talked to him.

END.

LARRY LIVERMORERUSH LIMBAUGH OF THE ZINE SCENE

by Tommy S. [part two]

In the first issue, I attacked Larry Livermore with a justification that he was being read by 10 to 20,000 young people via his columns in music zines Hit List and Punk Planet and that he is a perfect example of the American left-liberal 'growing up', that is, throwing up corporate lies and propaganda in a hackneyed pseudo-objective attempt to counter 'left' propaganda.

The columns I am going through in this issue show an even more remarkable inability to separate fact from reactionary argument. If you get to the end, you know I am not making a knee-jerk response comparing him to Rush Limbaugh. He certainly has more in common with Fox TV or right-wing radio than he will admit. But that is one of the fascinating moments of recent history; the liberal gone right declares Martin Luther King a proper radical and the Vietnam War wrong, or misguided, and then launches into redundant emissions on a frequency most of us don't want to lean down and smell. These liberal pundits, such as Thomas Friedman, or the mainstream "Greens" (Medea Benjamin, Blackweld of FOE), or Carl Rowan, decry the anarchists at demonstrations, call for their immediate arrest, demand that all dissent be contained within corporate two party forum and are continuously badgering us to listen to them and correct our morals, respect those who lead us, and refrain from conflict. While at the same time always including themselves within the 'liberal' progressions of the 60's and as supporters of the civil rights movement though that at the time was attacked by mainstream 'liberals', and deemed too radical even. Our actions are opposite of their demands of course, and their authoritarian voices become increasingly shrill. Thomas Friedman says we want people to become more poor because of demands on democratizing so called free trade and Larry Livermore suggests we are lucky we are not in China. When the unwashed herds begin demanding, agitating, and taking to the streets, the right leaning power structure heightens its very coordinated reactionary elitist op-ed calls and when the threat becomes too great, they show themselves as no different than fascists, albeit with a smiley, 'We have a democracy here, and the rabble is trying to destroy it.' While most of us recognize their pleas and top down bellowing are the counter to democracy, it is enough an irritant and hypocritical fog that we must respond. People not engaged in the left, with no access to alternative truthful pro-democratic views can be easily taken in by the mere repetition of the shrill hollers of 'chaos in the streets'. To know them, find how they share ideas and even collectively engage in re-writing history, is to be able to battle them better.

Dan Sinker's editorship of the zine Punk Planet is exemplary. He produces the best music mixed-with-politics zine in the english language. So, double-plexed I yam that he would continue to print Larry's columns in such an important venue, when Larry's historical and present generalizations are so right-wing gutter reactionary wrong, that I wrote a couple of letters to Dan asking 'why'? No answer. Nor even a truncated version of my first letter was printed....and edited it probably should have been. I even made the mistake of going to the Punk Planet 'chat-room' and asked why no one was checking LI's facts and got the most insipid low-brow responses you can imagine.....

One person just wrote about twenty lines of 'meow meow meow', whatever that is to mean, and one named Gordan Lamb, said I was 'implying' that Larry Livermore was racist since it is 'true that blacks commit the vast majority of rapes and murders'. Which is not true. And easily researchable. That was the point of my entering such a self-indulgent arena of alternative music know-it-all. That is, to prove to myself, his readers don't bother checking his facts and then claim we are spouting propaganda!!!

If a writer prints non-truths about a race, a minority, a group of people, in order to create the impression or outright blanket wash that this one group is degenerate and more violent....that is the most very base form of racism. No one can argue with that. Likewise the very pervasive mainstream media idea that certain groups have 'had the chance' to achieve parity in comparison to (middle class vs. poor) white workers' income and housing statistics, and then have failed to do so by some failing of 'identity politics' or 'problems of culture', is a racist construct. Black Americans, let alone Latinos, have not had a level field on the market equal that to whites. This is historical fact. And the drug war stats reinforce with utmost clarity this. Working class whites would do well to acknowledge this, and their unions' racist history (AFL, Teamsters, Building Trades unions, Hate strikes from the 1940's to the 60's etc), and their parents racist voting patterns, rather than whine about affirmative action that really never happened...for working class blacks anyway. The rich learned to separate us after Reconstruction, and the job still works.

Granted, the Livermore columns' readership is less than what I quote above. That number is a combination of circulation of the two zines...and I have found over the years, though my employ at the magazines' distributor and through responses to my first issue, and through discussions at rock shows, that the readership of his column is much less than circulation. Over half my co-workers at that past job refused to read this guy. Too much torture for them to submit monthly to a pseudo high-brow liberal on the mount.

Why oh why do I go on about this? You could say I have a vendetta against the guy. Or that I truly and truly hate 'educated' Americans that build their snobbishness by parroting corporate media hacks rather than learn deep real history and maybe even...uh....learn to actually read gov't stats. The American Liberal never actually proposes to liberalize any part of our society, economic or democratic, at least in a peoples' sense of liberalization.

And they never, ever, actually advocate any program or bottom-up democracy that would change the injustice. That horrible old cliché that a neo-conservative is a liberal that has been mugged has some truth. But the truly real freedom fighters in this country are the radicals that demand truth outside their demo-publican parameters of discussion and have been mugged by BOTH a fellow worker and a damn liberal. A radical stays left for life when she/he sees the petty irrational compromises and collisions with corporate and police state power that on the hill liberals make daily. Once you go there deep in real history, you're not leaving us, unless the money gets you honey.

The 'liberal' will say a war is wrong, only in that it is mis-guided, or going on too long, or involves too much 'collateral damage', but never states the fact that the US military has always been guided by corporate dictates. One example of re-writing history by liberals is the recent tag of the war against Nicaragua as a Reagan institution. Yet, Democrats voted 99% for the war...until things got...well uncomfortable for them here at home. The American Liberal has a sordid and ugly history that would take all 100 pages of this issue. Carl Rowan, the black 'liberal' you see on PBS, was an FBI conduit against Martin Luther King in 66 to 68. He is not a voice for black Americans. He followed FBI instructions in smears against MLK. And still there he is as a 'liberal' on 'public TV'-PBS. Just being pro-choice makes someone from the 'left' within their parameters.

So let me return to this little gnat of a man. Larry Livermore. A typical liberal gone right. It's all down below.....along with his own admitted anti-social psychosis that he moralistically claims later only

urban blacks and anarchists have.....

L.L. in Punk Planet #32: "You see what I'm getting at? In a perfect world, most of us would probably choose not to put up with most of us. Yeah, it's great to love your fellow man, but not necessarily at close quarters."

Wrong. Most of us like to live close to each other. Most of us in urban cities in American, no matter what crime and drug dealing we deal with, enjoy the close proximity and constant exchange that happens daily among us. We want affordable housing. We want decent jobs. But we don't want to move from each other. The majority of the workers in every city say this. Ask them. They may want out of slums, but not away from people.

He's an easy target yes, with never a reference to fact such as the assumption he wrote once that "blacks commit the majority of violent crime-why?". Why, I ASK would he repeat a lie? And imply thus, a racial defect, or a 'cultural problem' as his type refers. He reiterates the same lies of such factual tomes as the New Republic, David Horowitz-a right wing pig, and unsubstantiated banal generalizations that you find daily in corporate Op-Ed columns by the usual pundit moralists.

It's an easy target when a 'journalist' never in ten years of columns states sources for facts, or uses references. But it is a target that parrots of what most represents accepted opinion in US corporate media. Rush Limbaugh is an extreme hysterical example, as is Michael Reagan, but with some education outside the parameters of discussion, you find that 'liberals' like Thomas Freedman and others are equally consciously denying facts in order to sway public opinion. This is a dangerous and morally corrupt act.

And when people imitate them in 'alternative' zines, to counter 'pc dogma' or as if to offer an 'alternative' view, (when it's the view expounded through every corporate non-democratic censored source) it really just comes off as the same old bile you are bludgeoned with everyday. Flames of readers digest type tomes, based on non-fact, and amateur sophism to grab at the most base and reactionary audience. The 'mainstream' is increasingly becoming a shark infested polluted rampage of dirty silt-filled water running headlong to our public wells of discussion and information.

Stop and dam it.

So there is my purpose. Though I apologize to Mama Earth for wasting the paper on such filth.



The following is the most painful of this issue's diatribes: Punk Planet issue #38. His infantile characterization of Noam Chomsky having a conversation with his cartoon image of radical kids in the bay area, 'Spike Anarchie'.

"Why yes, I've become very involved with the underground punk scene," Professor Chomfsky assured him. "I've had books published by the ACK Press, an underground punk collective. Why, I've even appeared on a record with the famous punk rock group Sad Religion." "Sad Religion, huh? They kind of sold out, but I guess

they used to be cool in the old days," Spike conceded. "So what instrument did you play?"

[I hope he lost half his readers with such boorish idiotic replacement words for Ak Press, Noam Chomsky and then the band Bad Religion. And wrong facts as usual,—Chomsky has had the vast majority of his books published by small press since the early 70s. AK press, one of the most respected anarchist distros/publishers in the world published one or more Chomsky books. I can only find one my shelf. South End has published the majority of Chomsky, and then there is Common Courage Press, Black Rose Books etc. AK being part of the 'underground punk scene'? He's stretching it here, cuz he can't attack the left small press companies. That would reveal his hysterical anger towards the viewpoints and facts people such as South End have provided. I can find all AK press books on Amazon.com. Hardly underground as he is implying, as in, preying on an easily imprinted youth, or co-opting their anger through a 'punk scene'.]

"Oh, I didn't play anything," Professor Chomfsky laughed, "I just gave a lecture on how we're all brainwashed into giving our consent to the diabolically distorted simulacrum of democracy that is constantly shoved down our throats by the elite classes."

"Too bad you didn't do it in English, maybe more people would have listened to it," Spike suggested. "Anyway, what's this 'elite' thing you keep talking about?"

"The elite are that tiny class of people who control all of our institutions, who never allow a dissenting voice to be heard. They control the media, the universities, the corporations, the governments, everything..."

[This is a blunder that if we weren't so disgusted, we could laugh at: as the majority of Americans do agree with his 'Chompfsky's' fake quote of "that tiny class of People who control"—And 'Spike's' answer that too bad you didn't do it in English claims that no one reads Chomsky; he being too verbose, though later Larry claims he is rich on readership. Chomsky has never used the term 'brainwashed masses'!!!!!! If fact he constantly lauds peoples' resistance to elite control of the media. He constantly, in every interview, and book he has written proves his faith in the 'general public' by noting bottom up resistance. He constantly restates, 'This is the most free country in the world here at home, but the most totalitarian outside our borders' (loose quote but factual). This is not without historical precedent. Ancient Athens Greece, one case, shows us the most free democracy the world has seen recorded, while they still held slaves. One viewing of Manufacturing Consent, made over 10 years ago would prove this. I doubt Larry watched that or has ever read one of Chomsky's books]

"OK, so this elite thing, you say they control all the universities and shit. So how come they let you be a professor then?"

"Oh, it's just one of their devious tricks, to make people think that we have freedom of speech in America. They'll let me talk to a few university students, but they never invite me on television to give my views..."

"Exactly. You see, we're essentially in the same boat, Spike. Dissenting voices are just not tolerated under totalitarian state capitalism. What might frighten the men of property is generally kept far from the public eye."

[Larry is so mixed up. At one point he states a publicly accepted fact from the majority of main street USA.... "men of property...public

Larry Limbaugh continued....

eye"....a concept so true Thomas Jefferson and Lincoln even stated such possibilities..MLK jr. stated such outright.....but he then claims Chomsky calls the USA a totalitarian state. He has never said that. And has, along the lines of Hannah Arendt, compared totalitarian states such as Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia, to Social Democracies, and Capitalist Democracies as vastly different situations. Chomsky analyzes institutions and he does an amazing historical and unrefutable job. That's why you will see nothing in the mainstream media or in LL's columns refuting ANYTHING that Chomsky actually states as fact. Instead they and he, create ghost quotes and phantom discussion to obfuscate all rational argument.]

"Oh no," laughed Professor Chompsky, "I'm not poor at all. Why, I've published dozens of books, and along with my university salary, I make a couple hundred thousand dollars a year. And I'm not exactly unknown, either, people all over the world read my books."

[A swipe about 'wealth' against Chomsky? Larry who hasn't worked a nine-to five job in over 20 years, made a shit load of money just by singing bands....and then was AWOL from the majority of his punk label Lookouts productions, and the dirty work 1992 to 1995. He made hundreds of thousands of dollars while Pat and Chris did most of the work, and then was bought out in the mid-90's for a million dollars! Compare that to a hard-working scholar who since the late 50's has only been employed as a professor, and to this day, barely sells more than twenty thousand of each book. Skill of the right: lie when you can, there will be no space allowed for argument. This is a silly but cogent microcosm of what Chomsky sees as the limiting of the parameters of discussion. For example, neither of my two letters to the magazine's editor were printed or even referred to. I would have a better chance with the Times against Thomas Friedman! Really, it would be hard for LL to even admit or us to expect him to have the mental capacity to find out that the reason Chomsky got a job at MIT was because of his revolutionary work in Linguistics in the late 50's and 60's. Hundreds of thousands of dollars a year by Chomsky. What a joke, and sick when coming from the author that makes at least a hundred thousand off dividends etc from money made in the early 90's, and who does NO work academic or otherwise. Chomsky has traveled the whole world, across the US for travel expenses alone to speak. To this day, he engages in daily dialogue on political websites while still teaching and still putting out at least one well-researched book a year.]

He declaimed, "before the plague the European civilization unleashed its genocidal forces on the indigenous people of this hemisphere, burritos consisted of nothing more than rice and beans and hand made tortillas of golden maize."

"Oh, yeah, I know, that's the kind we buy when we've got a dollar," Spike noted. "But then what happened? Simple, peasant foods were no longer good enough for the new consumerist paradigm. The decent, fundamental rice and beans were overpowered by unseemly gobs of avocado and cloying masses of California cheese. It represents perfectly the way the perverted values of Western culture have overwhelmed all that was once decent in our world."

"And look at this abomination!" he continued, gesturing around the yard at all the well-fed doctors and lawyers and teachers who made up the mostly middle-class Anarkie clan. "Supper on the flesh and drinking the blood of the Third World, that is what they're doing! And bringing in these oppressed Mexican servants to wait on them is just more insult to injury! "Let's teach these whitebread middle class hypocrites that they can't blithely expropriate and distort indigenous culture. Here they are gobbling down their Mexican foods and drinks that they've stolen from their rightful owners and not a real Mexican in sight except for the servants. I propose we go down to the Mission District and invite the real Mexican people to share at this feast."

This made only a limited amount of sense to Spike, but he sensed the prospect of chaos, so he was all in favor. They hopped into Professor Chompsky's Mercedes and pulled up at the corner of Mission and 16th, in the heart of San Francisco's Latino neighborhood.

"Look at that," Professor Chompsky shouted, his voice barely able to contain his outrage. He was pointing at an enormous Taco Bell, right there on Mission Street. It was packed with customers, too.

"Is there anything more emblematic of how American imperialism is devastating any and all cultures that dare to deviate? How dare an American fast food corporation come set up shop in the middle of this indigenous neighborhood? Let's go in there and tell those fat suburban yuppies that they can't come marching into the Mission District and co-opt its culture." And march in they did, but even Spike, drunk as he was, was able to see that there weren't any fat suburban yuppies in the place. In fact the yuppies were all down the street at the authentic Mexican taqueria. Here in Taco Bell, pretty much all the customers were poor Mexicans.

[I hope that was torture for you, it is for me. Nothing at all, ever, not one word, by Chomsky substantiates this ridiculous diatribe. He has always said that if people want to boycott certain corporations. ok. but that still does not change the nature of the institutional framework. Please Mr. LL show us some facts where Chomsky railed against workers eating at fast food joints. Seldom has he even spoken against its factory farming techniques, and destruction of third world and American subsistence farming, (he leaves that to the groups doing intensive and fruitful education on these subjects) but instead always chooses to analyze the big picture. US Military actions, and the world's fight for democracy. When he ever attacked 'middle class' Americans. I can't find either.. and frequently passionately addresses them in speeches and on public radio. By the way, where is the avocado from?]

But Professor Chompsky was undeterred. He leapt onto a table top and shouted, "Mis companeros! Don't be brainwashed by the white man's talking chihuahua tricks!" ...[blah blah blah]

"Professor Chompsky carried on undeterred until someone else lost his patience and sent a 7-layer Burrito winging his way. It caught him square in the forehead and deconstructed itself into a dual metaphor for corporate cultural imperialism and the fact that nobody was particularly interested[] So, sadly, yet another grass roots insurrection was crushed by the storm troopers of imperialism. ..."



Barbara Ehrenreich -from the Progressive "Even as I wince for the journalistic profession—which, in its finer moments, seeks out the poor and is not afraid to approach them—there's something to be said for Fallows's approach. To a notable extent, the problem isn't the "invisible poor": it's the vision-impaired rich, including the sizable upper middle class. As many before Fallows have noted, these fortunates inhabit an increasingly insular world of their own, far from the customary venues of the poor or even the working class. They live in fortress-like apartment buildings, gated communities, or inaccessible exurbs. They do not use public transportation and are unlikely to send their children to public schools. And when they are forced to be in the presence of a sub-millionaire—a haircutter, a driver, or a masseur—their cell phones keep them safely sheltered from all but the most minimal verbal contact."

[Whew, excuse me, but you had to read this shit didn't you? A rich man in his 50's, who boasts about a lifetime of education, writes the most pointless and vacuous dribble imaginable. In all of Chomsky books, he astutely and rightly separates the IDEAS and fights for freedom of western Europe and American progressives, activists, radicals, etc.....from the actions of the governments and institutions and yes rich elites that counter free association, education, and the spread of democracy. It is an oafish right wing stumble to blubber one's ass squat over the distinction. All this crap about 'white civilization' is tired.

As if any liberation movements in any country don't take the French revolutions, the fight in Spain, the US bill of rights under their wing! Even Ho Che Min modeled his constitution after the USA and submitted it to an American President for approval.

This is the old tired crap that 'white' American radicals believe color makes someone more pure. As if we have burned all our 'white' books! No, we just want to 'burn' our governments that put the torch to democracy in the rest of the world as well as here. And any rational progressive discussion of economics or nation-state history must take the effects of colonialism and past and present racism into consideration. Chomsky says to the question 'is there any point in sending op-ed pieces to newspapers making phone calls etc...?'

Chomsky: "They're all very good things to do. Our system is much more flexible and fluid than a real tyranny, and even a real tyranny isn't immune to public pressures. Every one of those openings should be exploited, in all sorts of ways." (!!!!!!) And....

"There are understandable institutional reasons why the media are so deeply indoctrinated and hard to penetrate, but it's not ground in stone. In fact, the same factors that make it so rigid also make it rich in ways to overcome that rigidity. But you have to do something—you can't just sit around waiting for a savior. Another approach is creating alternative media, which may well have the effect of opening up the major media. That's often been done."

[The reason you don't see arguments from Chomsky within context, in the mainstream press, and certainly not in right wing infantile pundit columns such as Larry's is that Noam's analysis, knowledge of the historical record and completely rational theories about state power are correct. The mass of the readers would completely agree with Chomsky and not the pundit or dishonest reporter/editor attempting to manufacture consent against any analysis of power structures. You have to lie by fogging in order to convince people not to even read him or Zinn or]

[And by the way, to overstate the fact that LL knows nothing about the working class neighborhoods of the bay area, though he claims to have investigated them since the 60's,—here are three points: 1) Except during bridge-and-tunnel time, (Fri, Sat night) all the locally owned taquerias are staffed, and filled with mostly Latinos. I've lived here for 15 years, and never been but a minority in Farolito, Pancho Villa etc.... 2) Our taquerias for the most part do not serve 'Mexican food'—it is a californianized version. You will not find a San Francisco burrito down south unless franchises and the influence has spread, that I don't know about. Most Latino restaurants and some taquerias are labeled by country. A one-day walk through the Mission proves this. But as usual, LL is so white blind-sided and racist against third world cultures, he can't see the difference between a Salvadoran pupas joint and a light-skinned 'spanish' paedella/tapas place. 3) Mexicans at the Taco Bell? First of all there is not a Taco Bell on Mission Street near 16th. There is one way up past 26th. And it is always half-empty. The Mission is 60% brown, and only 60% of that have 'Mexican' heritage. He can't tell a Mayan, an Indian, from a light skinned Spanish descendant from the ruling class of El Salvador, let alone a Mexican from a Peruvian. I can't claim I can denote all country of origin of immigrants but just a week walking the Mission streets, is enough for anyone with sense to not call the Mission 'Mexican'. But remember this is the same hack writer that called the Mission of SF a 'third world Disneyland', and a 'shithole'. (see issue

#1)...and a night life that consists of begging...and drug dealing only. And why do Latinos eat at Taco Bell? And why do white and black and Asian workers eat at every fast food place across the country? Cuz it is cheap and fat filled, and thus satisfying. The bottom quarter of workers in this country (mostly black, brown and Asian) are making 30% less than when Larry worked minimum wage jobs in the 60's, if he ever did. Fast Food prices, as any worker that has been working since the early 80's knows, have barely risen with inflation. When I was 17 in 1978, a double cheeseburger at BK was 99cents. And what is the price today? \$1.50 or less..when the cost of living has MORE than doubled since 1980! If I had some kids, and was making only \$7 an hour, you're damn right I would take them to a cheap meal often too. Might then be able to buy them clothes with the money saved. Yes, white people in the Mission if aware look down on the fast food franchises. And if other colors can avoid them they do. We have the highest per capita of privately owned restaurants in the country. It ain't all white yuppies or white radicals eating amazing Thai food for \$6 a plate!]

[But beyond my kneejerk responses about my neighborhood that I love, it is discouraging that the editor of punk planet would print this column. Noam Chomsky never allies himself with or 'gets drunk with' unorganized screamie meemie radicals. He is an historian, a internationally respected linguist, has been on major often-corporate-owned networks all across the world, and is in contact, with the help and alliance of hundreds of other scholars, activists, with hundreds of bottom-up democratic organizations whether socialist or anarchist, or simply pro-peace church groups. Really this entire LL juvenile dribbling would be akin to caricaturing Emma Goldman's whole life as throwing coat hangers and condoms at Catholics]

Punk Planet #40 [I am editing so little so you can see all his gross moral masturbating—and cannot be accused of taking anything out of context]

LL "...Thanks to Berkeley being one of the world's last bastions of communism.....

But I've also got to be fair and acknowledge that things never would have gotten to this point if the city of Berkeley hadn't spent the last 30 years trying to deny the laws of economic reality. While the San Francisco Bay Area was turning into one of the hottest boom towns on the planet, the crusty old radicals and neo-leftist yuppies who run Berkeley were trying to pretend that we could remain forever in some 1970 time warp, where everyone had a nice little brown shingle house with tie-dyed curtains, a cute little yard for the rugrats to play in and the pot plants to grow in, rents forever pegged at \$100 a month.

They passed rent control laws and refused to let anyone build new housing. Surprise, surprise, now it's the millennium, and unless you've been in your rent-controlled home since the Dark Ages (like myself and my friends) or you're very, very rich, you don't get to live in Berkeley anymore. And because rent control forces landlords to charge only a fraction of what apartments are worth these days (I've been paying \$150 a month for my room; without rent control, it could easily fetch \$800 or more), property owners are desperately trying to get people like us out of their buildings so they can raise the rents.

Another effect of rent control is that many landlords stopped repairing or maintaining their buildings. Except for work we did ourselves, our house hasn't been repaired or painted in 20 years. What's more, the old landlord didn't bother paying property taxes, so right about the time our house was in danger of literally falling down, it got sold off for back taxes and our new evil landlord went to work on kicking us out.....

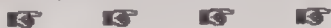
Something similar has been happening in San Francisco, especially in the Mission District, where many of the punks and artist types live. After a couple decades as a colorful and diverse borderline slum, local yuppies and property developers couldn't help noticing that the Mission was attractively situated right next to downtown San Francisco and would make an excellent location for new businesses and housing. All that was necessary was to clear out those nasty people who were already living there.

And that's exactly what's been happening. Half the people I know in San Francisco have either been evicted or threatened with eviction. They've been marching in the streets with signs saying, "Stop gentrification" and "Leave our neighborhood alone," but as much as I sympathize with them, they're living in la-la land. People with shitloads of money are not going to pass up the opportunity to live in one of San Francisco's most diverse and fascinating neighborhoods just because it means someone with less money will have to move out. Even more so, real estate developers whothrough their eyes the old Mission looks primarily like a haven for drug dealers, welfare scroungers and various lowlifes and petty criminals.

There's far more to the Mission than that, of course, but it would be hard to make a case for leaving it the way it was, i.e., a high-crime neighborhood where hard drugs are openly sold on the streets and begging is one of the most active forms of street life. But the real villains are neither today's yuppies and developers nor the down-and-outers who are being forced out of the Mission, but rather the smug, self-satisfied, sanctimonious San Franciscans of two and three decades ago, who, like their compatriots in Berkeley, thought they could live forever in some drug-addled navel-gazing haze while the whole rest of the world went on its merry capitalist way.you can build more housing, which San Francisco hasn't been letting people do, or you can accept that popular places like San Francisco and Berkeley are only going to be home to the rich and well-connected.

I suppose there's one more way of going about it; you could try the old Soviet system, where the government decides who gets to live in what city, and sometimes I think that's what San Franciscans would like. I can imagine them setting up some sort of committee which would evaluate people based on ethnicity, economic status, and most of all, scene points. In other words, if you're black or Latino, if you've got a requisite number of piercings or you're in a band, you get to stay. If you wear a suit and tie or earn more than \$50,000 a year, you're out of luck..... San Francisco has been choking on its own narrow-mindedness and xenophobia, and now it's paying the price.

The same sort of wishful thinking that threatens to strangle San Francisco seems to have insinuated itself into this year's elections. At least half the people I know are planning on voting for Nader on the grounds that both Bush and Gore are hopelessly corrupt. It's a tempting thought, I'll admit. Bush is a contemptible, unprincipled windbag who would take America on a



Coontz chapter "We Always Stood on our Own Two Feet" -Before the Second World War, banks often required a 50 percent down payment on homes and normally issued mortgages for only five to ten years. In the postwar period, however, the Fed Housing Authority (FHA), supplemented by the GI bill, put the federal government in the business of insuring and regulating private loans for single-home construction. FHA policy required down payments of only 5 to 10 percent of the price and guaranteed mortgages of up to thirty years at interest rates of just 2 to 3 percent. The Veterans Administration asked a mere dollar down from veterans.It was not family savings or individual enterprise, but federal housing loans and education payments (along with an unprecedented expansion of debt), that enabled so many 1950s American families to achieve the independence of homeownership. Almost half the housing in suburbia depended on such federal financings (!)."

blinding and destructive dash into the past, and perhaps the best that can be said about Gore is that he's not nearly as bad.

But does Nader represent a bold new beginning or merely another bout of wishful thinking? Nobody seriously suggests that he's going to be elected president, so his backers, whether they'll admit it or not, are willing to see Bush elected. Their reasons for this fall into two categories: either they think there's not enough difference between Bush and Gore to matter, or they're counting on Bush being such a bad president that people will become radicalized and start working for serious change in the system.

The first idea is debatable. Certainly there's not enough difference between Bush and Core, and certainly Gore has been incredibly timid about standing up for principles that really matter. However, on issues like women's rights, the environment, and the economy, there are significant differences, and Gore mostly comes down on the right side. As for those who think a bad presidency will promote positive change, I need only refer to presidents like Nixon and Reagan, both of whom were elected because left-wingers decided their opponents (Humphrey and Carter) weren't radical enough.

In both cases the leftists were hoping for a powerful opposition movement to emerge, and in both cases it didn't happen. The actual result was that under Nixon a couple hundred thousand people, mostly Vietnamese, died in the war that Humphrey almost certainly would have ended soon after taking office. Reagan demolished America's social welfare system, threw millions of people out of work, lowered wages and quadrupled the national debt, and through all of that, the left, instead of growing stronger, dwindled into near-insignificance, its energy consumed in fighting mostly losing battles to hang on to some shreds of A had been accomplished in earlier, more progressive eras.

In the same way that San Francisco frittered away much of its beauty and charm by refusing to deal with the realities of the modern world, a vote for Nader may be a well-intentioned flight into the realms of wishful thinking.When it comes to matters like foreign or fiscal policy, he'd be a babe in the woods. To try and turn back the tide of globalization by abolishing NAFTA and GATT might provide a certain visceral satisfaction, but it would almost certainly plunge the world into a depression that rivaled or surpassed that of the 1930's.

[An edited version of letter to editor of Punk Planet in response to above #40 column—letter did not get printed.]

Hello punk planet,

.....I will have a (too long) investigation of Larry Livermore's turn from hippy liberal to right wing crank. But for now, and in respect of your space constraints, let me just touch on the past few months. The fabrications, lies by omission of fact, then outright lies, and complete acceptance of corporate media's spin on everything from so called free trade to crime rates try any educated person's reserve. Are you all giggling 'he's our Ed Anger' and that only Larry and me don't know it? Is there a comic contrast involved, to have a 'liberal' Rush Limbaugh in your pages that I can't appreciate? Well if so, the joke's on me because I take his history by personal anecdote and muffinhead analysis as fairly serious seeing how your magazine has at least 10,000 young readers. [...]

Contemporary government, municipal, regional and national, is rooted firmly in the structure of U.S. corporate business management. He himself said similar in many issues of Lookout Magazine. [...]

The topic of rent control in #40 certainly reveals his mental miasma of non-realities. "But I've also got to be fair and acknowledge that things never would have gotten to this point if the city of Berkeley hadn't spent the last 30 years trying to deny the laws of economic reality." Because the "crusty

old radicals and neo-leftist yuppies who run Berkeley were trying to pretend that we could remain forever rents forever pegged at \$100 a month." And "They passed rent control laws and refused to let anyone build new housing." This implies that all under rent control are paying \$100 a month. Of course not true. Rent control allows yearly increases with inflation. And that the free market would have 'adjusted' rents to an affordable, for the masses, level if rent control had never happened. Surely this is a farcical notion we all can all agree—and has no basis in 100 years of history of industrial capitalism. Working people for the most part, lived like packed rats in all our urban areas up through the 1930's. After then people had enough organized power to demand that government intervene in the 'free market' through better zoning laws, development of building ordinances, and subsidized affordable housing. Perhaps Larry should revisit Chicago, NY, Detroit in the 1890's to 1920's. Only in the 1950's and up to the 70's did most people have affordable housing as renters. Our (white) wages were the highest in the world then (by struggle and strikes, not by us voting democrat) and the GI bill afforded millions of people a chance to buy a home—a bit of socialism thrown into the system then that we could use today. And, he is lying, since new housing has been built in Berkeley since rent control passed. The city is mostly experiencing competition for part of 10,000 or more evicted SF residents, and an influx of rich people kicking out tenants to have a previously densely occupied dwelling all their own. Two people now own one house, that housed 12 to 15. Simple math. A trend Larry later admits about SF but still, muddled headed claims free market principles are needed.

"Another effect of rent control is that many landlords stopped repairing or maintaining their buildings. Except for work we did ourselves, our house hasn't been repaired or painted in 20 years." Another personal anecdote that is meant to give to you an educated overall view. Rent control in both there and in SF allows landlords to pass on some upkeep costs, and if out of the landlord's reach of budget they can go to a board for a hearing to ask for more. (2) Landlords typically don't keep their houses nice looking for tenants. Why should they? Their only aim is profit. So all the other cities in the US—99% NOT rent controlled—have their houses painted every 8 years with pleasing upkeep? Of course not. This man just drove across the US and what did he see? Green Bay and then Lake Wobegone, his mythical idea of how we all lived someday in the past on Main Street. Here in past columns, he would typically invoke a walk through late 50's early 60's Detroit. Where everyone could afford a home and blacks finally got the chance to enter the middle class. But that fabrication of history is discussed in my full-length analysis. (see Rattlesnake issue#1) Too much bull for here.

And another blatant lie by Larry is that he is implying that all rentals in SF are rent-controlled. Only a little more than half are. Pass the facts, sir.

And as the local propaganda front for realtors does, he also fails to mention that there is no rent control on commercial buildings. Why at this writing, was the situation just as bad residential vs. commercial building and rents? The 'free market' ideology around housing and small business retail space was a complete disaster in this country since day one. Only with massive federal subsidies from the 1930's through the 1970's, were people finally allowed to have decent housing in this country.

Back to recent topics—the only reason so many houses in the Mission and in the East Bay are getting fixed up is for re-sale value. They are being sold or being readied for it, not being re-done to make the new 'market rate' tenants happy. It is also interesting that Mr. Law and Order Larry is using a rent-controlled space for 20 years that he has NOT been living in many months of the year as the readers know. If he is so against rent control, give it up. And common sense says someone so rich shouldn't have it anyway. Give it to someone that makes the typical poverty wage of our two counties.

"Something similar has been happening in San Francisco, especially in the Mission District, where many of the punks and artist types live.

After a couple decades as a colorful and diverse borderline slum, local yuppies and property developers couldn't help noticing that the Mission was attractively situated right next to downtown San Francisco and would make an excellent location for new businesses and housing."

This has been a mantra with Larry about the Mission since he endorsed Clinton in 92 and then swerved more right. He once called the neighborhood a 'shithole' in a punk chatroom, even told us at Mordam at 18th and Folsom that he would be afraid to park there (in daylight!), and typically categorizes the neighborhood in a strangely Dr. Laura derogatory tome of being a haven for punks, and artists. What does that mean? Artists don't work? Are they some separate despised minority? A man has some extra earrings, but is not a worker? And did not spend time in a Salvadoran jail? A white girl community activist with dyed hair is not welcomed by us?

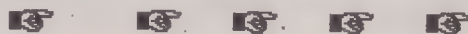
Of course he added it is really a 'Latino' neighborhood in the same paragraph. And as even here in the now, when some of the richest people in the world walk through as tourists he still has to say 'borderline slum'. The fact is that it has been the most ethnically diverse neighborhood in the USA for 100 years. And that is has always been a working class neighborhood. Never all Italian, never all Irish, and never all Latino. The bulk of the '34 general strike heroes are from here. Even back in the early 90's it was only 60% brown. It's a mix up. Therein has always been its beauty.

So the dealers and prostitutes are more likely to be in the Mission, and tolerated. As in any other city in the world. The poorer parts of the city have more visible street level pictures of the human condition. The rich keep their drugs and prostitutes in their guarded enclaves where the police don't dare take either their battering rams or SWAT teams. The rich even rent flats to house their prostitutes and snort their coke—as politicians in the 80's here got caught doing. We don't own the space to hide it. And why such high drug use across all color lines in the USA? Not a topic for 'There is no alternative' Larry. His discussion of social and economic factors in the USA center on shopping malls and Taco Bells. Even to the point of putting Chomsky preaching on a table in one. Absurd and

On his way to a 'punk' show or café meeting, the unsightly brusque dealers rile his walks through our "shithole" of 60,000 people, which he has for tens years labeled as mostly punks, artists and drug dealers but rarely as one of the last most cohesive working class neighborhoods in the country. The influx of immigrants from the south who act as heroin runners on 24th could be discussed in a 90's historical sense. Why have hundreds of thousands of people moved to the cities, in agrarian economies south, and then why have so many more crossed the border in the 90's? Or he could even touch on the economic local aspect of it. The runners get a days worth while doing sales. And there is a 3 to 6 month wait for addiction programs here in a very rich city. But don't worry Larry, 7 out 10 addicts die within 5 years. Can you deny that you never dealt drugs in your life? Dr. Laura posed nude, but that was in the past, and we are subject to hers and yours, new higher level of morality.

If there is no historical or sociological discussion, any demand for human rights can be reduced to a moronic realm of clichés such as picturing vital analysis's or organized leftists hopping up and down on a Formica fast food table. The EDN in the Mission, saved over 300 people from wrongful eviction in just one year of work. I will ask them how they fit such good work in with a schedule of screaming at neighbors eating cheap food.

And ghetto? Slum? Have your readers ever seen many more beautiful neighborhoods in this country than the Mission? 120 Year old Victorians, hills, and faces you would never see in suburbia. I say welcome to the punks and artists and Honduran runners (that will gladly take a better job if offered). Come here



Larry the freemarket fairy continued...my letter....*

and help us demand affordable housing for us as workers! The organizing and self-education about civic democracy puts a glint in all our eyes. That is life. That is progress. Educating ourselves on self-defense against the government-subsidized rich. Realizing in civic and street demonstrations the demanding ART of deconstructing hierarchies in all parts of our lives. But HO! I dance outside the tomb and breathe! Back to the inside and lock the door.

He adds ... "There's far more to the Mission than that, of course, but it would be hard to make a case for leaving it the way it was, i.e., a high-crime neighborhood where hard drugs are openly sold on the streets and begging is one of the most active forms of street life." And begging is allowed in the Marina? Or in Union Square and the Castro where they have private business security that beat up homeless people? They come here. Or they live here. Workers. You can help Clinton fill the prisons with more of them. It is too offensive for me to even address "is one of the most active forms of street life."

I see thousands of families with children out and about every day, interacting, meeting each other. I have never seen such an active daytime and nighttime streetlife in the US.

But then we could read liberal Larry back in 1992: "The crucial thing to remember about poverty, unemployment, political repression, homelessness, and starvation is that not only are they morally reprehensible, they are bad economics. Every individual whose potential creativity and productivity is wasted in menial or meaningless tasks is an individual who instead could be making substantial contributions to the common good. 'that was when he associated economics with the common good. And had a humanistic moral basis as looking at people around him, compared to a borderline fascist grouping of the popular corporate vision of a pathological underclass."

Sorry I digress, that's for the magazine, not this letter column. And so they suddenly noticed that it was ripe for developing? No it has been a slow on going process since the early 80's. It happened 10 years earlier with a vengeance in the Lower East Side, the North End in Boston and other places, because northern CA just over the bridge was still open for housing and also very attractive. When that built up and commutes started reaching two hours, the rich turned back to the city. There is also an immeasurable reality that these 40 something rich grew up in dull American Lake Wobegone suburbs of the 50's and hated it.

Just recently with the dot.com boom has it become out-of-city news. So Larry reads headlines and an SF bullshit Weekly article about rent control and parrots it: "You can pass all the rent control laws you want, you can limit building heights and block new construction, but you can't permanently abrogate the law of supply and demand. Thanks to the Silicon Valley boom, literally billions of new dollars have flowed into the Bay Area economy, and those dollars have forced house and apartment prices up into stratospheric realms."—"you can pave over half the state, as Los Angeles has been trying to do, you can build more housing, which San Francisco hasn't been letting people do, or you can accept that popular places like San Francisco and Berkeley are only going to be home to the rich and well-connected." So again just accept it. There Is No Alternative.

Here is an outright lie, and you have to wonder why—is it the usual laziness or part of his agenda to deny lauding any community progressive counter-balance to the backhand of capital? A quick check of building permits for residential housing in SF the past ten years shows an average of over 3,000 a year (some one unit some 5 unit!), and even INCREASING up to 5,000 in 98 alone. 3,000 to 4,000 is typical pre-rent control also. The total recorded is 10,000 more units built than the 22,000 people that the USCB says moved here. So, there should be a surplus! But not when you have very rich people buying up houses and booting out the tenants. Rich people demand more room and more profits. A two to three floor building that may have housed 8 to 15

tenants will then house only 2 or 3. If they have tenants they are renting to the top 10% rich singles that can afford the ridiculous market rents; not families.

Therein lies the 7,500 decrease of rental units cited by the USCB in the past 10 years, and add to it the negligence of the Brown administration to build more than has been lost of SRO rooms and 'welfare' projects (around another 4,000 units).

"But the real villains are neither today's yuppies and developers nor the down-and-outers who are being forced out of the Mission, but rather the smug, self-satisfied, sanctimonious San Franciscans of two and three decades ago, who, like their compatriots in Berkeley, thought they could live forever in some drugaddled navel-gazing haze while the whole rest of the world went on its merry capitalist way."

The breadth of shallowness and fabrication reaches only Tom Wolfe arrogance. But we have to recognize that his neurotic fear of the masses associating in a democratic process on a civic level has become 'foolish and wishful thinking.' The villains are not the developers evicting city residents in favor of a quick buck (that won't last obviously) but they are these mythical hippies from 20 to 30 years ago? He is basically calling the voters all 'drug addled navel gazing' fools because they voted on propositions to restrain capital. And with a quick overview of who pays what politicians to win, the history of who has run the city, his connection to reality becomes very suspect, bordering on psychosis. (3)

There have been pro-corporate pro-real estate mayors in this city for 100 years. The mayor appoints the planning commission, the mayor appoints real estate people to the other housing boards, and our only recourse is ballot initiatives with some help from the less corporate controlled offices of supervisors. If Larry can actually list what 'radicals' EVER had any guiding voice on SF housing policy or HUD disbursements, he should list them. And if Larry can list any LAW that stopped building, rather than limit it to areas better served by transit, less impact on important light manufacturing etc. he should cite them.

Will he counter with the lack of office space? Prop M allows a very generous 1 MILLION square feet of office building per year, in this very small city. That cap, was so generous, all through these 'boom' 90's, that it was only reached in 1999. Of course he doesn't remember how Feinstein and her contractor husband were part of a 'boom' too. And a few years later, those ugly office buildings had a 30% vacancy rate for ten years. Drug addled? What kind of drugs? The profit motive drug yes...that demands immediate gain/return at the expense of transit access, worker housing and definitely ascetics. Is that the drug he mans? Unfettered capitalism? I would agree there. It has totally mismanaged all our cities. And as the SF Weekly purposely left out, there is no commercial rent control here. Why are those rents pushing out 20 to 30% of the small businesses and light manufacturing—the lifeblood of a city. We left THAT up to the market! Explain Larry.

While the whole world 'went on its merry capitalist way'? This is one of the richest cities in the country, with only 780,000 people but 10,000 homeless. 4 out of 10 can't get drug treatment on demand.that means waits for up to 6 months just for some crappy 2 week methadone program...wages on the bottom half 20% less than 20 years ago...sounds like capitalism to me.....and even the federal government has attacked the local HUD agency, and says on the USCB site that we need 10,000 more units of affordable housing immediately. But too left wing for Larry. To have the government actually help build housing. It would be like that Soviet thing dude, like that is communism ya know? Like dude, it would be hippy and drug addled people actually dictating their community housing policies if they were capable of getting our taxes back to house us. We work here and pay into a very regressive taxation system. We should be able to afford housing and we should be allowed to have

***This word is used only in reference to his belief in the magic wand of capital**

community input in a livable/artistic design as well. HUD destroyed the black Fillmore. 'Drug addled navel gazers' protested to no avail. If your readers can walk up this far, cuz Larry won't, look at the rebuilt 'projects' at Chavez and Folsom. They're beautiful. Because the city was finally FORCED by a few grass roots supervisors and activists to take input from citizens. Why they took 6 years to build—as condos go up in 6 months—is a Willie Brown and Mob contractor story.

"I suppose there's one more way of going about it; you could try the old Soviet system, where the government decides who gets to live in what city, and sometimes I think that's what San Franciscans would like." Actually what IS happening, is that the government IS deciding through INACTION who lives in the city. In a democracy the people give a mandate through paying taxes and vote, expecting some protection from the market. If the rich are allowed to evict all of the bottom half, and our government does not protect our right to affordable housing, they are deciding who lives where. And property owners are subsidized through many tax laws and regressive taxes. There was a \$80 Million city surplus last year. That alone would be enough to house all the dislocated from lost rental units, and the homeless. But this of course would put a 'surplus', meaning an adequate vacancy rate, on the market; something real estate players would not allow.

The troll tamps out his pitter-patter 'sometimes I think'....while everyone knows SF workers are the most receptive place for immigrants in California. We voted against prop 187, 22, 21, 229 and some supervisors tried to get it declared a sanctuary for immigrants from US was down South in the 80's. And also because of public pressure, the city cracks down less on immigrants than anywhere else. And hosts the most per capita community based self help services than anywhere in the country. Certainly not a construct that Feinstein, Agnos, Jordan or Brown built, and certainly not a hippie navel gazing enclave as he paints it. Please tell us some facts, that we as citizens in this city have EVER been exclusive.

But no, the cliché overrides history again and presents the today as head rubbing 'I think...' postulation.

His complete distrust in people and in real democracy surfaces as always, "I can imagine them setting up some sort of committee which would evaluate people based on ethnicity, economic status, and most of all, scene points." WHO THE HELL IS HE TALKING ABOUT? DOES ANYONE BUT ME READ THIS SHIT? And what is the focus of his agenda to bastardize the idea of community committees as a totalitarian concept? Any clear headed person would see the idea of neighborhood committees as the last refuge of civic democracy we have left. The only near-direct democracy we can participate in. The town hall meeting.

"In the meantime, I'm clinging tenaciously to my own little Bay Area foothold, and I wish the best of luck to the many others who are trying to do the same." Here he is, each to his own. He's got a million dollars! Good Luck. Don't try setting up some kind of committees or MAC or anything...just good luck because in Larry's world There is No Alternative. He's got his money! Good Luck!

"The same sort of wishful thinking that threatens to strangle San Francisco seems to have insinuated itself into this year's elections. At least half the people I know are planning on voting for Nader on the grounds that both Bush and Gore are hopelessly corrupt. It's a tempting thought, I'll admit. Bush is a contemptible, unprincipled windbag who would take America on a blinding and destructive dash into the past, and perhaps the best that can be said about Gore is that he's not nearly as bad."

So it is wishful thinking if you take the usually understood citizen's duty to vote for someone that is a better and a more educated person? What kind of democracy do you have if it does not entail you voting for who you think is the best person? No, that is 'wishful thinking'....that you are wishful to even think you have a choice, rather choose one mass murder between another that-would-

soon-be.

"However, on issues like women's rights, the environment, and the economy, there are significant differences, and Gore mostly comes down on the right side."

Who's right side? A slip here—to the right? In the same issue of Punk Planet was J. St. Clair's excellent record of Gore. Larry doesn't read it or ignores it or considers your zine mostly leftist crap. Another lazy hazy overview that does not apply to reality. The environment? He has to be kidding. The Gore family as been oiled by Occidental Petroleum—There is a war in Columbia—and Oil helped Al Jr get his first seat. Strip mining in his home state? It doesn't get regulated under Gore Larry. The 1872 Mining Act that Clinton promised to change 8 years ago? Clearcutting? Promotion of deadly herbicides in Columbia for cocoa crops? Enforcing and pushing the GATT/NAFTA/WTO- completely non-democratic US/G7 subsidized-corporate trade mandates that allow corporations to sue nations over environmental laws? No increased gov't research on solar power and no increase on mass transportation spending since Carter (add inflation)! The economy? For him and the rest of the top 10% only. Do you get your median income from Time magazine? Your poverty rates from National Review? Also, it's impossible to predict how justices will perform. The two most liberal justices on the Court today, Stevens and Souter, were appointed by Republicans. A Nixon appointee, Blackmun, wrote Roe v. Wade. It's prime opponent on the Court then was JFK's man Bryon White. As for poor women, Gore spent his career voting to deny them funding for abortions. And he had nothing but praise in the first round, for the horrible right wing Clarence Thomas. And he is a born again Christian! He has also voted three times with Helms on anti-gay issues

"As for those who think a bad presidency will promote positive change, I need only refer to presidents like Nixon and Reagan, both of whom were elected because left-wingers decided their opponents (Humphrey and ...Mondale?) weren't radical enough."

Again, a sloth version of history. A manufactured 'unfact'. The left, or the majority of the population does not zoom in and out of elections. Although the 1960 election showed an appreciable boost because 2 million blacks had finally been allowed to register in the south, we have had no mass variance from 50% to 60% turnout EVER for 100 years. Why does he lie? He expects that none of the readers will look it up.

turnout 1960

68,838,204 62.77% of 'potential'

turnout 68

73,211,875 60.84% of potential

turn out 72

77,718,554 55.21% of potential'-this is after voting age was lowered to 18.

note-4 MILLION more people voted when McGovern ran! But the 'leftists' made him lose?

Also during the 72 McGovern/Nixon election 50% of age group 21-24 voted as compared to only 33% of them in 1994. 17% more young people voted then!

Larry says "In both cases the leftists were hoping for a powerful opposition movement to emerge, and in both cases it didn't happen. The actual result was that under Nixon a couple hundred thousand people, mostly Vietnamese, died in the war that Humphrey almost certainly would have ended soon after taking office." * Again no proof that Humphrey would have ended the war sooner. And it is absurd to award a democrat with that mantle. He was the vice president under LBJ (who bombed South Vietnam to oblivion) and a war hawk and a follower to the other democrat JFK who started the whole Vietnam War- who also had instructed the CIA to overthrow at least 3 democratic governments down south. Also LBJ oversaw the mass murder, with weapons, CIA and military support, in Indo-

nesia, that killed at least 500,000 people. But Larry berates us 'leftists' for not voting the same party that had already killed over a million civilians in the 60's. LBJ campaigned on stopping the war too. Larry doesn't mention that. Why? At least a half million viet civilians were killed under the Democrat LBJ. Mass murder escapes his fogged enclave. As it does when he says Gore would be better than Bush. One million dead in Iraqi are never mentioned in his columns. War crimes there and in Serbia under his Clinton and Gore choices are outside the tomb's walls of discussion. Gag rule hangs over the entrance.

"When it comes to matters like foreign or fiscal policy, he'd (Nader) be a babe in the woods, to try and turn back the tide of globalization by abolishing NAFTA and GATT might provide a certain visceral satisfaction, but it would almost certainly plunge the world into a depression that rivaled or surpassed that of the 1930's."

Complete corporate propaganda— 'babe in the woods'. Nader knows more about the government than anyone running for office in the country. I defy Larry to tell us what speech, or bill, Gore actually wrote himself; and not by high paid hack rich lawyers working for him. What has he ever initiated for the 'people'? Name one campaign? Nader's seven stories press pamphlet shows more depth than any citizen could expect from these politicians. You're a fool if you think we fall for that line. The readers of Punk Planet know the difference between a whore mannequin and a citizen crusader. Nader is smart. And even Lewis of Harpers was enamoured of him. But the corporate headlines you read support your arrogant condescending view. Nader has spent 30 years suing your government for citizen rights and protection. And Gore has done the opposite.

A depression? Misnamed free trade laws such as NAFTA/GATT INCREASE the chance of worldwide depression. These laws demand no 3rd world country place restrictions on capital flight. The Peso dropped 50% in value in a crash after NAFTA. Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea saw their economies crash simply because, at the first sign of over-speculation and currency value loss, finance capital could pull out in a matter of hours. These 'free trade' agreements, formed under the direction of banks, permit this. I don't expect you to know what the Bretton-Woods agreement was though, nor why Nixon and the bankers overturned it. You're an imbecile when it comes to comparing the selling and trading of goods, with corporate control of trade in the world economies, and locking in their 'rights' as entities to override any democratic decision by a nation's people. The US is pushing subsidized agribusiness into Mexico. Over 100,000 family farmers have lost their livelihood already. If you can't touch leftist economic books, cuz of truth cooties, you could at least try William Grieder in the Rolling Stone. A big recession is on the way specifically because of over production and absence of finance capital controls.

"In the same way that San Francisco frittered away much of its beauty and charm by refusing to deal with the realities of the modern world, a vote for Nader may be a well-intentioned flight into the realms of wishful thinking." So you fly into realms of fancy because you vote for a man you trust and doesn't have blood on his hands!

I am sympathetic with any reader that has reached this point — and will try to end with a veiled racist lie: Hit List jun/jul 00- Larry "And the statistical evidence backs it up: crime reports for a recent year show that black people, who are 12% of the population, were charged with 61% of the robberies, 55% of the murders, and 43% of the rapes. It doesn't make for pleasant reading, but those are the facts."

No, they aren't.

This is all a complete fucking lie. He is so ignorant that although he says blacks make up 12% of the population, he doesn't realize he is looking at 'per 100,000' stats. Jeff Bale did the same in Hit List. The same thing that William F Buckley's National Review has been doing for years. As a journalist with 10,000 readers, the least he could do would be to list numbers of murders committed by whites vs. blacks and rapes.

Yes, per 100,000, blacks do commit more violent crime than whites. But separated by income level, whites and blacks do the same, over a 10 year outlook. Poor people commit much more violent crime than the rich. To paint it plainly perhaps to finally leech through the musk masturbate-ing dank air of the TINA tomb, if you take 10,000 whites making \$10,000 a year and the same for blacks, the levels of violent crime are the same. Over 100 million of the population is white above-poverty level. If you go back to 30's, 40's stats you see the same. Whites murder and rape like blacks when you look at income level. Also, you can note that Larry has used 'arrest statistics' as a schoolbook measure of crimes committed. He does not use convictions. Wonder why? Why does he want to make black Americans so much more violent than whites? What is HIS agenda? Urban arrests are way out of proportion to rural and suburban arrests. Homicide arrests in urban areas outnumber the conviction rate. Conviction rates are a much better barometer, as is the FBI's victimization surveys. But you notice Larry only mentions 'arrest' rates.

..... You can look that up to. But Larry doesn't want you too. (Try the BJS pdf files, the FBI victimization surveys-US Census Bureau). And he doesn't want you to read Scapegoat Generation or Framing Youth By Mike Males and certainly not Lockdown American by Parenti.

This man is tiptoeing quietly across the corpses and fatalities of injustice for a reason. Larry typically makes the usual right wing assertion that 'we' are university-entombed totalitarians and specifically America Haters. The 'we' is those who want the facts of history; and detailed accounts of bottom up organizing to be offered to all workers, as well as all 5 W's present in mass media journalism. His is a theme that runs rampant through the mainstream press since Haymarket to now; and ALWAYS is used as an obscuring tactic to avoid addressing the facts and issues brought up by the left. Note that in Larry's dismissals of Chomsky, he never argues any facts! Our government did not directly suspend the Geneva Accords, forcing a war on a recently partitioned country that ended in the deaths of 2 million mostly civilians? LBJ, the Democrat, did not oversee and finance the massacre of at least 500,000 people in Indonesia? I tire the readers now.

They know and suspect most of what I could list. My point really being, that it is a love for America that any of us choose non-statist education. We have a love for people, their triumphs, and a passion to learn about the present by learning about the past. We love America specifically because of the millions that resisted state supported capital, whether the Filipinos starting the valley strikes in the early 60's, or the 39th infantry division ready to revenge black lynchings in 1941. So many millions of people have put their lives on the line in the US to merely educate and energize for a better future, it is our urge and ambition to know our real heroes. Do we all know Helen Keller was a flaming socialist? And a very eloquent one. Try to find that in our state textbooks.

I will end with these quotes:

James Baldwin "American history is longer, large, more various, more beautiful, and more terrible than anything anyone has ever said about it"

James Loewen "None of the facts is remembered, because they are presented simply as one damn thing after another. Textbooks stifle meaning by suppressing causation. Students exit history textbooks without having developed the ability to think coherently about social

life. "



W.E.B. Du Bois "One is astonished in the study of history at the recurrence of the idea that evil must be forgotten, distorted, skimmed over..... The difficulty, of course, with this philosophy is that history loses it value as an incentive and example; it paints perfect men and noble nations, but it does not tell the truth."

thanks for your time Tommy The Rattlesnake

Footnotes for this unprinted letter:

(1) I would be much more comfortable if Buckley's National Review, Jeff Bale in Hit List and numerous bad journalists in today's 'papers of record' just flatly stated that poor people commit the vast majority of crimes. This would be truth, rather than the 'per 100,000' rates that all are using to try and prove blacks are more violent than whites. They aren't. But this truth would address class!

(2) My anecdote as evidence- Tenants of only 5 years (so paying close to market rate anyway) on Bryant and 24th were forced by a judge to help pay for the Landlord replacing a roof. Absurd of course. The landlord will be able to write off the repairs on taxes, charge more rent, and then have a better re-sale value. The tenants are being evicted now.

The roof increase wasn't enough to keep the landlord happy.

(3) In what the SF chronicle called a veer to the surreal, Ammann made it to a runoff against the corporate backed Willie Brown. They called it surreal, because it was the first time ever that a mayoral candidate made it to the run-off WITHOUT any corporate backing in SF. They smeared him as a tax crazy socialist from then on. In the election Brown outspent him 50 to 1. And was backed by daily headlines in the press that labeled Tom unable to run government, though he has been a public official for 20 years here. Brown only 2 years in SF \$5 million dollars to Brown from the Gap, Castellus, etc., to win an election in a city of 780,000. Old issues of Look-out magazine always had diatribes correctly labeling SF city leaders as corrupt and corporate backed hacks. No majority political leadership pushed rent control through. It was by direct vote! The people. Even going back to the radical 30s, the mayor then was complicit in allowing the national guard to use a machine gun on strikers. This city has always been run by bankers and real estate barons, and never by a left hippy contingent or progressive majority as he insists.

(4) No one has been allowed to build because of rent control!??

SF permits residential 1996 - 1999.

1996 - 2762.

1997 - 3785.

1998 - 5261.

1999 - 4571.

Punk Planet #42

"To be fair, thirty years of drugs, alcohol, and selective and fading memory probably leave me with no more accurate a picture of what the '60s or '70s were really like than some snotty teenager who got his or her picture out of old magazines and movies. It's probably more about insecurity: I'm afraid they'll all be looking at me wondering, "What's the unfashionable old git doing here? While I'll be glaring back, thinking, "You fucking poseurs, I did all this before you were born."

[Hmmm, so will he stop writing about history if his writing is from a drug addled memory and not research? No, we are not so lucky.....]

THE HIT LIST COLUMNS

So, onto his columns in the reactionary RAWK magazine Hit List. The editor of Hit List Jeff Bale is a fan of the capital-fascist Ayn Rand, accuses blacks of committing the majority of all violent crime, and blames his lack of academic progress via employment at universities due to the 'totalitarian

left', the ultra-feminists, and spouters of 'identity politics' who he says control discussion and employment on campuses. This editor also claimed that any young person who chooses to dress 'hip hop', is saying by this music fashion that they are a misogynist, drug-dealer-gang-banger, and deserve to be arrested. Here are a couple of quotes from the editor of Hit List, Jeff Bale:

"Learn how to speak or write correct English"...since they (the blacks) are in effect making it impossible for themselves to successfully enter the economic, social, and political mainstream in this country on any level whatsoever".

"The truth is that everyone who is concerned about the wretched condition of the black underclass would advocate the immediate abandonment of 'Ebonics' and insist that every black child learn proper English, which alone makes social mobility possible in the United States."

Hey how come half the whites are not socially mobile, are they not learning Queen's English too?

So you can see Larry Livermore is more at home at Hit List!

I sent a long letter to that editor at that magazine that was also unprinted. The reasons the editor refused to print it (though every issue he prints his own two to three page replies in his letters column) were these:

Dear Tommy:

For old time's sake, I'm going to give you the chance to retract this letter. Believe me, I'm making this offer for your own benefit, since the letter you sent in is hopelessly confused, extremely inarticulate, and full of embarrassing factual errors. I suggest you think this over very carefully before proceeding. Sometimes it's best to vent your emotional feelings privately rather than in a public forum.

Jeff Bale

He never cleared up my factual errors for me. Hmmmmmm. I won't print that letter to Hit List. It contains the same ground covered in these pages. Ok, back to the guy that really makes my piles flare up. No wonder looking at the above poop by the editor of Hit List, that Larry Livermore also found a home doing a column there. In LI's Hit List columns you notice he lets his right-wing edge flange even more brightly. Punk Planet has a much more bright and open minded readership and factual political content. So Hit List is a place where he can really mangle facts and portray all kinds a racist fungus. His sociological shit is better than a 1980's Readers Digest article!

Hit List Nov/Dec 99—his psyche:

".....I can understand his feelings; many's the time I was tempted to strangle some clown with his idiotic wallet chain. Set me loose in a roomful of people But there's one prejudice I don't think any therapist could cure me of. I've had it ever since I can remember, and it seems to get stronger as the years go by. I refer to my almost violent dislike for the sight, sound, or smell of people chewing gum." "Still... Think about a beautiful and intelligent girl. She's got good manners, she comes from a good family, she studies at Harvard or Berkeley, she has a smile that can make you melt in your tracks, and when she opens her mouth to speak, the world is full of music. Then she stuffs a gob of Juicy Fruit between those lovely lips, and suddenly her IQ drops about 150 points, her manners take a run for the border, and she has all the appeal of some brainless cow chewing its cud in the middle of a field."

[Hey this a guy in his 50's writing this! 'A beautiful girl from a good family...that studies at Harvard!' And this is the guy that tells us about the underground, the urban frontier.....We're going from bad to weird already...no doubt!]

"And anyway, cows at least have the decency to stay out in their fields. They don't sit next to me on buses and trains chewing their cudsBut get any gaggle of riot grls or Cometbus crusties" [this is a adjectival phrase describing 90's hardcore punk fans I figure] "together, and you can bet half of them will be expressing their youthful independence with gum and cigarettes."

[Don't sit next to grandpa on the bus and annoy him. Just buy records on his 'punk' label and make him more money! Yes, he still gets paychecks from Lookout Records!]

"After the Industrial Revolution, though, it became necessary to keep kids in school longer, partly because the Age of Machinery demanded greater skills than could be learned in elementary school, partly because people needed to be conditioned to live a more structured sort of life than that expected of peasant farmers."

[Actually, the Industrial Revolution, the mid 1800's, or if you date it from the early 1800's, enforced overwhelmingly (in many ways) child labor-not more schooling. The vast majority of teenagers in all western democracies never attained a high school diploma until the 1940's. Most working people's children began to work at 12, or even at 9 years of age, from 1850 on. Weird science that he would take the Industrial Revolution as some harbinger of more school and leisure time for teenagers, or for anyone else. We would wonder then why every democracy finally passed child labor laws. ...if they were in school!!! And you didn't learn 'machinery skills' in school, you learned them through apprentice-ships, controlled by the way, incestually by white trade unions in the AFL. Courts had to finally force building, machinist, pipefitter etc...trade unions open to blacks in the 60's literally in thousands of cases..]

".....Put another way, they want their kids to succeed, but on the parents' terms. Example: when I was 18, I went to work on an auto factory assembly line, which is what Detroit boys did in those days if they didn't go to college (or, as in my case, got kicked out). It was well-paid, but brutally hard and mind-numbing work.....and I lasted less than a year before drifting off into a variety of other occupations, only some of which were legal."

[OK, he worked one year in a factory then in the mid-60's. This changes later to a 'lifetime of union jobs'. And no, Detroit boys didn't all go to the factory. Blacks had a 30% unemployment rate in Detroit already by the mid-60's compared to 5% for whites.]

"If, as I do, you see society as the ultimate extended family, there are some conflicting values at work here. If everyone is my brother or sister, I don't want to see anyone suffering or going without. At the same time, I don't want

to see my brother or sister lounging around, maybe doping or drinking themselves to death, while I pay their bills. It's not that I'm stingy; I'm more than happy to help out, but just handing over some money every week to feed someone's crack habit, well, who does that really help?"

[I told you, Reader's Digest sociology! Those welfare moms in their Cadillacs and on crack!]

Money for drug habits really does help, in the form of treatment, housing and societal support. And remember, he has been lounging around for nearly 30 years. And has admitted much drug intake, and by very reliable sources, he was on SSI in Mendocino while he was selling pot in the late 70's to early 80's. But here we get to the real gut of his new right thinking. A moralistic broad brush against workers trying to get by in an economy that depends on a huge under-employed and unemployed pool of subjects. If you want to sing 'Fascist in a Closet' right now.....go ahead, here is the chorus....]

"Some people have a problem, though, with the government 'butting in' and telling welfare recipients that they've got to get jobs, send their kids to school, stop having more babies, etc. 'It's a violation of their rights,' they scream. To which I reply, 'What rights?'. The minute you say, 'Hey, I can't take care of myself, I need you to help me,' you've put yourself in the same position as the kid who says, 'Mom, Dad I I can't afford to pay rent anymore, can I move back in with you?' Most moms and dads will say yes, but unless they're real suckers, they're not going to say, 'Sure, son, move back in and stay as long as you like, rent-free, and if you need money for beer or dope or anything, heck, we'll give you an allowance for that.'"

Actually, there are probably quite a few parents like that, which might explain why there are so many imbecilic and thuglike children running about."

[So the time you take ANY government benefits, no matter the taxes you've paid since birth, the profit you made by your labor for a boss, you are not allowed any rights. You are a whining child. You have no rights! And who on welfare EVER refused to send their children to school? They demand BETTER schools! And the government should be allowed to tell anyone to have less babies? Doesn't matter that most people on welfare are women with only 2.5 kids. Doesn't matter to this little hitler the rich and volatile history of workers demanding decent wages, decent housing, and demands for equal access to education by american workers. Yes, treat the poor like little children whining to mommy and daddy. And ohhhhh, those 'thuglike' children running around. Step lightly as we go on, Larry Livermore's sucking morass of morality gets deeper.]

"It is the same thing with helping the poor. You can't just hand them money or shopping carts or free high school diplomas that they can't even read; just like kids who grow up assuming that mom and dad are only there to hand out free money, poor people who've never known anything else learn that it's the government's job to take care of them."

[Hand the poor money? The welfare that Larry admits to taking ("I've been on welfare, and I was fortunate enough to get an education at what was....one of the best public university systems in the world") was twice what people get today. His education costs were 50% less. And the education grants have almost disappeared. The federally subsidized housing, (IN the US: GI bill, and 3% mortgage rates in the 1950's)

which is the only way workers had been able to find affordable housing near workplaces in ALL western industrial democracies, has all been nearly eradicated since his fathers factory tenure. The building of livable housing is miniscule compared to the 60's and 70's. Clinton, the democrat and lesser of two evils in Larry's view, built less housing per capita than Reagan.

Anyway, no one hands 'money' to poor people in this country. It goes to rent and part of their food bill. The rest of their living expenses come from some other way that they are ingenious enough to find....even if it means picking shit out of trash. And I know I shouldn't bow to his level, but no municipality has given out shopping carts. It would be proper to have a 'democracy' provide housing, but in little hitler's point of view, shopping carts are some sort of stealth poor people's way to steal. And the cities view it the same.

Thousands of homeless people in 'liberal' San Francisco have had their carts taken by the DPW and SFPD with all their possessions. Imagine, you have to live under a bridge with thousands of rats teeming over and around your body at night- take a left off Potrero to east on Chavez-and the next morning the authorities take your few belongings, your clothes and sleeping bag. And Willie Brown, the democrat, is really mad that somehow homeless workers have gotten tents! He threatens arrest to the kind-hearted that bought tents!

And what does Larry Livermore mean about 'free high school diplomas'? Workers, if you have ever gotten relief, are now to pay for school? We are now supposed to pay for public education? And still pay taxes? While his generation enjoyed 20% higher wages, massive anti-poverty programs from the late 30's through the early 70's, and THEN they voted in proposition 13 to defund public schools, and recently this generation ... (whites middle class up voted overwhelming for what I am noting)...voted in three strikes laws, anti-immigration crap and in every suburban part of each city have voted to ban multi-unit housing.]

Hit List Jan/Feb '00

[A common thread through corporate right media is to claim that any demands made by radical workers and their organizations in the western world, are somehow also demanding that civilization be destroyed. This 'civilization' includes all literature and all OUR history of creating more democracy and economic rights, and thus a packet of 'western heritage' commingled with any form of oppressive democratic capitalist democracy. This obfuscates all rebellions by claiming that this governmental system 'gave' all the rights freely. A complete opposite of history of course. Here Larry is making his case by comparing the US to China. Of course he has to not mention the UK's and the US's involvement of propping up oppressive regimes in China. For example, in his world and their world, Chaing Kai Shek was not encouraged and funded in his barbaric regime and then starvation of millions by the US. The opium war never happened! Only when Mao takes over, do the famines and oppression deserve note.]

"China is coming to life today, as Japan did in the last century, and how? By emulating Western ways. The countries that are still failing, in the sense that they can't feed their own people or guarantee their basic safety, are those which still refuse to learn the lessons of history, that still treat their people as resources and commodities.

You'll note that these are the sort of charges commonly leveled at America and the West, that our society is organized solely around profit, that individuals are treated as little more than spare parts for the machine. There's a certain truth to that, of course, but it ignores the larger truth: that Westerners on average live healthier, wealthier, longer, more fulfilling lives than the members of any other society on earth. For every African-American who's living in poverty, you can point to a thousand Africans who would think they had died and gone to heaven if they could change places with him.

For every underpaid, overworked American factory worker, there are a thousand desperate Mexicans risking their lives to get across the border and take his place."

[So here he accuses China of gross misconduct....treat their people as resources and commodities"...though in the previous column that is exactly how he wants this government to run. ..."same thing with the poor. You can't just hand them money....or free high school diplomas."...as he said about the US.

His moralistic monologues spin on unpredictable axes. It's dizzying to keep tabs on where the next mandate from top down will spin wildly from.

A thousand Africans would think they'd gone to heaven if they could replace American blacks? Where does he get this idea? No source Yearly there are only about 10,000 African immigrants to the US. But before I run off a bunch of INS stats, I think we can call this a preposterous statement, and ignore it. He also ignores any US complicity (and G8 countries) in IMF/World Bank forced austerity measures on all third world countries. Their reduction to export only economies, that battering by colonialism (that left NO infrastructure after the rape) their attempt at democracy and land distribution subverted directly by US proxy dictatorships, and directly by US invasion and intervention. And here is the anti-immigrant bait about a thousand Mexicans wanting your jobs. Funny how millions of Latinos have crossed the border over the past 10 years to work but unemployment rates for whites are still the lowest in forty years. He needs to go back to capitalism 101 at his college. When people are starving they go to jobs anywhere they can. He should check immigration rates during our depression/recessions. They drop deeply. Also immigration rates jumped by the millions after Nafta allowed agribusiness to completely take over Mexico, and Salinas receded art 21 of the Mexican Constitution: a move pushed and cheered by the US. Also, if all these 'Mexicans' wanted to be American, why do hundreds of millions of dollars get sent back down south by these workers to feed their families? They want them to stay home, and be able to survive so that someday they can return home to them.]

"I put a similar question to my friend Sean: "What's the difference between a gang of left-wing thugs trashing a McDonald's and a gang of right-wing thugs attacking a Jewish synagogue?"

[Well, hey Larry is right. Like, if we are on strike and the company fires us all and hires scabs and I throw a brick at the National Guard protecting them, I might as well throw a brick at a Jew huh? Like you know, a chair is a chair. And like you know, you have two feet, and one is left, and one is right, but hey they're still feet! So when I kick in a McDonald's door for their massive anti-union PAC funding, and their destruction of farmland/rain forest with factory cattle farming, it's really like I am saying I want to open the ovens huh? It's the same thing. Since uhhhhhhh, we have no rational thought processes, no sense of who controls our lives, and when faced with a 'chair'....we all just say...."well it's a chair right Larry?" That we are all so ignorant that we cannot make our own moral, ethical decisions. Within this fecal morass of logic a brick thrown at the Nazis raiding our union halls in 1933 would be the same as being a Nazi burning a synagogue!

For some intellectual relief, here is some Sartre from his War Diaries: "Dostoevsky used to write: "If God does not exist, all is permitted." That's the great error of transcendence. Whether God exists or does not exist, morality is an affair 'between men' and God has no right to poke his nose in.We must take care here not to fall into the error which consists in deriving values from facts. For human

Larry says anarchism= fascism! Funny guy!

reality is not a fact.....What we call its freedom [re:human reality] is that it is never anything without motivating itself to be it. Nothing can ever happen to it *from outside*.”]

AND NOW FROM LARRY LIVERMORE, 20TH CENTURY HISTORY

“There is one sense, though, in which the police have a greater claim to being right, and that is because they are accountable - at least in the West - to a civil, elected government, so at least in theory they are doing the will of the majority. [Most Americans would say police are not doing ‘their’ will....].....If a bunch of young anarchists or a bunch of young Nazis decide to do their own version of social or ethnic cleansing, who are they accountable to?

More and more I become convinced that **there’s hardly a dime’s worth of difference among anarchists and communists and fascists**. They’re all profoundly anti-democratic, they all believe that they have the right to impose their views on others, by force if necessary, and they all seek chaos and the breakdown of civil society because they see it as their most likely route to power.

What they have in common most of all is contempt for civilization and civility. Read some Nazi tracts from the 1920s and 1930s, and then compare them to some modern anarchist theory, especially that of the class war and deep ecology ilk. The two sides might differ in their long-range views of how a new society should be constructed, but they’re almost identical in their short term views of how and why the old one should be destroyed.”

[No quotes, or historical examples from Larry to support this. No examples of anarchists ever engaging in social or ethnic cleansing. No examples of the left, red or rednblack, ever claiming to want chaos. Marxism in practice and in theory is extremely more organized than any capitalist society. Anarchism chooses to go one step further towards the ultimate form of pure organization, that is one of complete person-to-person civic responsibility, direct democracy in every facet of life. You could not have a more non-chaotic society, wherein every individual was involved in all aspects of its ‘organization’. There would be no room for famine or war in anarchism, since each individual is part of the whole, in vote, in creative support, and thus a ‘cog’ that turns and grows in a mutually beneficial direction indispensable to the whole organization. Nazis, as he places them are and have always been accountable to a dictator, or to a totalitarian organization. No democracy is allowed.

A basic college poly sci class puts the left farther left as more worker control, ie democracy and control over economies and nature/community environment is achieved or demanded, and the right farther to the right less democracy is allowed. If any of my taxes helped him get a college degree I want a goddamn refund.

Anarchists, and I am not including a few hundred whacked suburban kids here but the wealth of our history and actions, are in fact very supportive of all ‘civil’ social engagements. Our stance against prisons has always included the sociological fact that poverty creates crime, and prisons create more ‘uncivil’ people. That representative democracy controlled by the rich, creates an un-engaged populace who feel they have no voice, and are forced to spend lives in uncreative drudgery, and so become very uncivil towards each other. The poor kill and batter the poor. A fact that the anarchist, and communist, always uphold as a blatant fact that we live in an ‘uncivil’ and....

disorderly society. When the needs of the majority are not met in the world, we can hardly if in possession of rational thought, claim we are being ‘civil’. The lawless brutalization by the police forces all across the country is something I won’t even waste space on now. They are militarized, and out of control of any municipal politicians. I can say that the US police have killed more innocent people in the past ten years than any ‘anarchists’ or ‘communists’ have in the past 100 years in the US.

Hitler in Mein Kampf: “The progress of mankind resembles the ascent on an endless ladder; one cannot arrive at the top without first having taken the lower steps. Thus the Aryan had to go the way which reality showed him and not that of which the imagination of a modern pacifist dreams. [Sounds like Larry Livermore]Therefore, it is no accident that the first cultures originated in those places where the Aryan, by meeting lower peoples, subdued them and made them subject to his will. They, then were the first technical instrument in the service of a growing culture. [sounds like....] “

IN a ‘There is no alternative’ view of history, Larry would have us believe that left and right forms of institutions and avenues to progressive or regressive change in the 20th century are the same. Maybe he could spin this to the populace on Mars, but it don’t hold a thread through a needle here.

1)When Hitler was given power by the liberal (!) arm of the German Republic, he proceeded to massacre thousands of leftists and destroy all their union halls and begin an exodus wherein by 1934 over a 100,000 people were already fleeing Germany. FDR refused to take in more than 20,000 jews a year right up until the US declared war on Japan.

2)All the western democracies stood by and watched as Franco the fascist otherthrew a democratically elected republic with the very needed help of Mussolini and Hitler. After his ‘victory’ he killed hundreds of thousands of Spanish civilians. FDR then labeled anyone that fought for the Spanish Republic ‘pre-mature fascists’. They were hounded by the FBI in the US for the next 20 years.

Certainly I could on and on about how the western democracies have always favored fascist dictatorships over any form of ‘left’ democracy. I don’t think that is the point here against Professor Larry. It really stands on his inane proclamation that fascism and communism and anarchism are all the same side of the coin. Though outside of his preaching to Martians, the real world finds very, very serious right vs. left definitions.

Hundreds of thousands of dead farmers, priest, union leaders, students and striking workers in the southern American nation-states attest to the real world’s very stark lines between left and right. ...Especially when we consider how much of the death squads and democracies are constructed and run by his glorious USA government.

Lenin and Trotsky certainly understood the meaning of left vs. right, and the dangers of too much democracy. They killed over a hundred thousand left communists and anarchists and imprisoned many more in the 1920s.]

“Much of the debate over what happened at Seattle centers around each side-cops and demonstrators-crying, “They started it!

I wasn’t there, though a number of my friends were. Most of them blamed it on the cops too, but having been to at least a thousand demonstrations and at least a hundred demonstrations that turned into riots, I’m not so sure. I’ve seen times when the cops totally went nuts and attacked a peaceful crowd, but I’ve also seen times when the crowd was determined to start a riot and did whatever it had to do to make it happen. My guess is that some of both was happening in Seattle.”

[He claims to have read about the demonstrations at Seattle, but seems still completely confused. The police began shooting rubber bullets and tear gas and began beating thousands of peaceful demonstrators over an hour before anyone broke any windows, which by the way, happened blocks away from the police riot against the people. There was such an obvious split between a small group of people who attacked Gap, Starbucks windows and the tens of thousands blocks away, that liberal organizers yelled, ‘why are they (the police) beating up people *over there*, and not arresting

these 'violent' demonstrators.' Media of Global Exchange was quoted in the NY Times along those lines. See Jeff St. Clair's Seattle reprint this issue for real facts.....Still, who possessing any rational thought would compare a small group of angry youth breaking windows with 'our guardians of civil society' viciously attacking people exercising their democratic rights of free assembly? Long ago Larry Livermore leaped to Rush Limbaugh right-wing generalizations, denial of facts and complete mistrust of bottom-up leftist organizing and direct action, and now he makes the complete crossover to the other side by repeating rightwing mantras such as...you're just lucky that.....you didn't get worse!!!!]

"Because Seattle's a "liberal" city, the demonstrators **were actually allowed to gather** [my emphasis] in the streets; in a less tolerant town, let alone the "police state" many protesters claim we're living in, the marches would have been stopped by whatever force necessary. You didn't notice the Chinese military worrying too much about civilian casualties at Tiananmen Square, did you?"

[AHH the old, don't like it here GO TO RUSSIA! Actually it is our legal right to gather in the streets and demonstrate. He thinks this is a 'gift' given to the people in Seattle. It was a right workers in the USA gained by direct action. In his world the free speech fights of the early 1900's or the massive pressure in the 1960's for similar rights never happened. They came as presents from above. And go to China if you don't like this right being withdrawn by rampaging cops.]

"If the point of Seattle was to call attention to the dangers and excesses of the WTO, it was a marginal failure there as well. True, a lot more people have heard of the WTO now than before, but not many more understand what it is or why it's a problem. Ask the average American what "WTO" means to him and he'll probably say "Those kids rioting in Seattle."

[Yes those dumb regular people! They can't understand the complexities of corporate negation of peoples' democratic rights. They can't understand why it is wrong to have the biggest multi-national corporations deciding trade rules for the world! We can ignore the 40,000 that showed up in Seattle. Mis-lead by leftist brainwashing. Also, all future WTO meetings are scheduled to be held in inaccessible places. Some failure...if they are that scared of the people demonstrating.]

[See Globalization is Globaloney by Jim Hightower in this issue,]

"Some people aren't willing to admit that police are even human, let alone thatthey have a right not to get showered with rocks and bottles when they're trying to do the job they're paid to do.....But what's not open to question is that it's part of the police's job to protect property. If they didn't do it, the vast majority of people would be up in arms."

[Police aren't human? Have we gassed or shoot at cops yet? Have we beat them with clubs as they beat us? No. Because we respect rights more than their uniform does. Protecting property? They weren't there when the small contingent bashed windows. They were blocks away beating up people!! If you can't stand the facts....bury them Larry Limbaugh! And anyone that knows any USA history, knows that the police and their agents (from the Pinkertons through to present hired thugs) have hundreds of times been caught with direct involvement in

creating violence in strike situations or demonstrations in order to discredit the demands. This image of 'peaceful cops just doing their job' is asinine. I doubt he would listen, but someone should tell him about the cops that attacked the funeral march for Dialo in NY....among hundreds of other incidents just this decade. And I doubt he would listen to the hundreds of people seriously injured in Seattle, or at the least claim to them to THEIR FACE they 'showered the police with bricks' first.....a claim contrary to even Seattle's mainstream papers.]

"So, all you peaceful protesters who were unjustly gassed and beaten, answer me this: what did you expect the police to do? Sure, it would be nice if they could have just stood by and let you have your peaceful protest....."

[But don't EXPECT that..which is the LAW....or you can go to China!]

"..... Whether the police or the anarchists started it is irrelevant; once a situation gets out of control, you have the choice of getting it back under control yourself...."

[It's irrelevant? So are the facts to him. And how do citizens STOP cops from beating them senseless? Really, the convoluted jumps are amazing in every one of his columns. The anarchists cause hundreds of police to descend on tens of thousands of people? The cops were 'showered with rocks'? Complete falsification.]

"The "black bloc" or whatever they'll be calling themselves next time, are convinced that they're morally superior to everyone else, and have the right to violently impose their views on others."

[Another lie. The members of the black bloc met with many people beforehand and in no way coerced anyone. And actually their warnings that they may break windows is the opposite of coercion. They were identifying themselves and their actions so that people could easily choose to not be involved or nearby. This is called free association. An admirable and ONLY an anarchist tradition. The complete opposite of say, leninist vanguard types infiltrating a left-liberal organization and advocating violence. The complete opposite of right-wing agent provocateurs infiltrating to start violence to bring police repression down. Interesting that he doesn't realize that he has exposed through his ignorance, the true beauty of anarchism: the often near-fanatical fear of coercion over other people. That is, that the black bloc BROKE from the huge mass of peaceful demonstrators to break up stuff. They did not do it within the masses. They made themselves completely visible by dressing different (!) and doing the dirty deeds blocks away!]

"Someone once defined "fascism" as the imposition of aesthetic standards by political means. The ultimate example is Hitler, who decided that blue-eyed blonds were the best-looking people and set out to kill everyone else. That might sound like a far cry from smashing Starbucks windows because you don't like their aesthetics, but ultimately it's the same principle."

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(from a John Pilger column) "The "optimistic glimpse" is not at Channel 4, but at the courage and intelligence and sheer strength of character of the young men and women, black and white and brown, gay and heterosexual, who faced the organized violence of the state in Genoa and Seattle and Prague, and will do it again and again. They represent a genuine "profound social change". Recently, the Asia vice-president of the financiers Goldman Sachs said: "This is an uprising as big as the revolution that shook the world between 1890 and 1920. Beware."

[NO, it is nowhere near the same ethical, moral, or political or social principle. And people don't smash corporate windows, spraypaint ,,,,,,banks for 'aesthetic' reasons. Whoever he claims defined fascism as the imposition of aesthetic standards is as ignorant of Mussolini, Franco and Hitler's actions and progress to power as Larry Livermore is. Larry is reducing totalitarianism and mass murder to me or you throwing a brick. Melding, with an infantile vomit spew, the mass murder by corporate supported governments of millions..... with that of a few individuals' aggressive actions as a plea to be seen and heard. It sides well with the 1920's and 1930's 'liberals' view; that is, the property owners and small proprietors that supported Hitler and Mussolini, reacted to 'chaos' by choosing fascism rather than deal with bottom-up increased democracy and increased social justice.

Hannah Arendt said, "Totalitarian movements are mass organizations of atomized, isolated individuals. Compared with all other parties and movements, their most conspicuous external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member. This demand is made by the leaders of totalitarian movements even before they seize power."

Larry, and the other Rush Limbaughs, want total loyalty. No scattered, 'illegal' pushes, or demands. Larry and his kind want people to accept their 'centrist' view of isolation and acceptance of the middle road. That demand colors anyone that veers from it, as fascist, right or left, when actually this view, this mindset, and this type of strangulation of civic discussion is the road to fascism. If people, for example forty thousand in Seattle, demand access, they are simply told 'you are lucky you are not in China (Russia) where you would all be shot'.....or that you should enter the discussion in a 'civil' manner, that is the press.....though the parameters of discussion in the US press are wholly limited to the right, with only barely once a week diversions.]

"People trying to build on the alleged "success" of the Seattle protests are going to have a tough time of it."

[Only because of the blocking of any real discussion of 'free trade' in the corporate media. Otherwise there is a huge success worldwide. In both first world and 'third world'. It will be interesting what rant he will manufacture sans facts, after Genoa of this year...most likely he will blame those forty thousand demonstrating for the illegal cop shooting of a kid from the safety of the inside of an armored car...]

"The bad publicity Nike got over foreign sweatshops did more to hurt them (and change their policies) than any number of trashed Niketowns, and the continuing growth of vegetarianism and animal rights awareness will hurt McDonald's in ways that dwarf the ludicrous efforts of a few brick-throwing anarchists."

[He assumes that the anti-sweatshop and food awareness cognizance has nothing to do with western democracies' anarchists; their organization and activism? That's a big leap. And wrong. Also, Nike has not changed their policies. What propaganda has he been reading?]

"I personally favor reforming, not abolishing, the WTO.To portray the WTO or the messy globalization process as a sinister "conspiracy" sounds too much like the paranoid views of the old John Birchers and isolationists, who were terrified that America was on the verge of being overrun by communists and foreigners."

[Question: How do you reform an organization that has no avenues for discussion? How do you reform an organization that even excludes over one hundred countries from its most serious treaty writing? The G8 countries are writing the laws along with corporate heads! How do you reform an organization, that allows no VOTE on its treaties on its 'globalization' when no one on the globe is allowed to discuss and VOTE on it? How do you reform an institution that has a judiciary that decides 'free trade' issues in secret? The meeting notes are not even made public. This is not the old right tag of leftists yelling 'conspiracy'.....this is a completely undemocratic organization run by a small group of rich people with obedience by the politicians of many countries. This is a dictatorship. There are no avenues for reform in a dictatorship. That is why millions of people have been demonstrating in third world countries for over a decade against the IMF/World Bank and since the mid-90's against 'free trade'..and why you can easily find in thousands of journals and press outside the G8 countries, praise for the Seattle and Genoa actions. They realize that within these still existing democracies within the "leaders of free trade" there is the best chance for real reform: i.e. destruction of a corporate dictatorship and some semblance of restoration of popular input.]

Hit List june/july 00

....."But if it's valid to infer racism from that kind of evidence, why isn't it also valid to infer that you're more at risk in a black neighborhood when most people you know who've been mugged were the victim of black muggers in a black neighborhood? That's personal experience for most people, regardless of race. And the statistical evidence backs it up: crime reports for a recent year show that black people, who are 12% of the population, were charged with 61% of the robberies, 55% of the murders, and 43% of the rapes, it doesn't make for pleasant reading, but those are the facts."

[No, none of this paragraph consists of facts. Only a racist would state such. And this racist claims he got a degree in social studies recently. Apparently you get a state university humanities degree these days without even being able to investigate social conditions; that isreal crime rates vs. poverty rates. I got that in my crappy Soc 101 class at Kent State in 1981. This guy went to Berkeley where he claims 'identity politics are rampant'. One of the most prestigious universities in the country, and he did not come out with any scientific or critical capability. He came out the same 50 something year old idiot.

Yes, a white person is at risk in a black urban neighborhood. Black Americans experience 50% poverty rates compared to less than 15% for whites. The more poor people are, the more segregated they are, the more likely they are in high crime areas.

If there were still many poor white urban areas, all of us in cities would get robbed more by whites, as 'we' did in fact in the cities of the USA from 1890 to 1940. He is also implying that whites are murdered more by blacks than by whites by making a leap from getting mugged to murder rates.

I've said this before, and will say it again, really if you want to rid the country of most 'violent crime', then you have to exterminate the bottom 30% of the population. That these people whether its Larry Limbaugh, or David Horowitz, that use race 'per 100,000' population without a breakdown by poverty level should really just come out of their fascist closet and admit, that they want to exterminate all poor people. But then capitalism won't permit it, since it is an economic system that relies on a large unemployed labor pool. There was a time from the late 60's to the early 80's where you would get all five 'W's anytime you read a crime article. Now it is near impossible to find one in the mainstream press that breaks violent crime down by income level. Let alone mention that

american whites are five times more likely to commit murder than euro whites. Let alone mention that near 90% of black murders are black on black, while over 95% all serial killers are white, and over 95% of all mass school shootings have been committed by white rural/suburban kids with military and christian backgrounds. By using the 'per 100,000 stats,' we could then say that every black and latino kid on school grounds is safer than any suburban white kid on his school grounds. The mass shooting recently by white students at their schools would tilt the stats in such a way to show that.

Serial killings and mass shootings are a definite example of psychotic rage. Our court system and general populace see murder one on one between acquaintances (usually under the influence of drugs or alcohol) as much less horrific than premeditated murder. Let alone premeditated murder of more than one person. Why are so many suburban privileged kids whacking their peers? A sick uncivil conformist society creates very frustrated people. To me, it's a wonder Latino and black violent crime has dropped 30% in the last decade while their poverty rates have gone up and up during an 'economic boom'. This downward crime trend NEVER happened with poor whites as they experienced more poverty in depression/recession times, in the past 100 years of history.

And excuse me to the white workers reading this, but whites have to know recent history before we can even discuss crime or 'affirmative action' (which hardly even happened)..... or black on white racism... which does happen often in urban areas (as also, though rarely noted by LL white on black happens in rural/sub areas). We have to consider the massive social subsidies under Keynesian economics from the late 30's to the early 70's that largely benefited white workers.

Mike Davis in *Prisoners of the American Dream* "At the beginning of rearmament, Blacks had been universally excluded from defense jobs, and it was only after the threat of the 'March on Washington Movement' in 1941 organized by a Black trade unionist, A. Philip Randolph, that Roosevelt reluctantly signed an executive order against job discrimination. Although real job equality was never remotely achieved, significant numbers of Black workers did obtain footholds (usually the worst jobs) in aircraft, vehicle assembly and shipbuilding, where they often worked side by side with newly proletarianized whites from the rural South and Southwest. Between March and June 1943, over 100,000 man-days were lost in a wave of 'hate-strikes' against the upgrading of Black workers. One of the largest occurred at the Packard Works in Detroit during April 1943, when 25,000 whites struck 'in retaliation for a brief sit-down of Blacks protesting their not being promoted'. ... A year later, and following innumerable other incidents in shipyards and rubber plants, a massive racist outburst in Philadelphia, sparked by the refusal of white streetcar employees to work with Blacks, forced FDR to send 5000 federal troops to restore order."

So this is what the parents and grandparents of young blacks experienced just 50 years ago. My point it is, I wonder why black violent crime is not HIGHER against whites. We have three generations in our urban areas that have watched massive federal subsidies go to whites to buy homes (GI bill) massive subsidies to build up white only sub-metro/suburban areas, and now since the late 70's starting with Carter, massive cuts in all social spending that would benefit urban areas....and now with Clinton doubling the drug war. The latter a massive program that is incarcerating 1 of 3 black men — though whites do just as much drugs.

Can someone answer me, why blacks and latinos are less violent in poverty in America compared to the historical record of whites in poverty?

But back to Mr. College Degree's stats:

"And the statistical evidence backs it up: crime reports for

a recent year show that black people, who are 12% of the population, were charged with 61% of the robberies, 55% of the murders, and 43% of the rapes, it doesn't make for pleasant reading, but those are the facts."

It only takes about an hour to search the US Census Bureau stats and the FBI Crime Victimization Surveys (which are overwhelming used as barometers/ fact by all mainstream corporate journals when they care to state facts) and the Bureau of Justice Stats.). Such is the worth of a state university degree.....for Larry Limbaugh.

In 1999 There were 6,310 homicides of whites.

5,855 of blacks.

As all these government's sources say, over 85% of all violent crime is within race.

(94% of black homicides were black on black, 86% of homicides whites by whites 1967-1998-BJS)

If you separate by income level, whites actually commit near as many murders as blacks. Though I admit, the USCB, and the FBIVS don't have these figures available easily on their websites anymore, or it is impossible to find on a quick cursory level. That is why people usually refer to experts who have studied the mass of data...and do not rely on simple per 100,000 graphs. Again, note no reference on Larry's 'facts' in his articles.

This from the Bureau of Justice Statistics: 1993-1998 violent Victimization and Race table 7: Household income less than \$7,500 a year: average annual victimization rates per 1,000 persons age 12 or older: crimes of violence 82 by whites, 75 by blacks, 168 by American Indians. Serious violent crime 33 by white, 40 by black.

He may be stupid enough or undereducated enough via university degree to think that 'arrest stats' represent crime. No responsible journalists look there. For example in "Detroit (NY Times april 2001) :In 1999, the last year for which statistics are available, Detroit reported 1,152 arrests in 415 murder cases. In 1998, the police made 1,310 arrests in 430 murder cases."

Of course in Detroit that means over 2 blacks arrested for every 1 murder. The FBI website advises the reader to look at victimization rates, not arrest rates.

And remember as the USCB and FBI sites state obviously, near 85% of violent crimes are committed by the same color (intra-race, not inter-race)...so he says....

Blacks commit 61% of the robberies? In 1998 (FBI) whites were victimized 366,000 vs 146,000 black Americans!!!!

And he says 43% of the rapes? This is the worst of the race cards. He is implying the blacks are prowling to rape white woman. They would have to be if it were true as he states that they commit 43% of rapes but make only 12% of the population.....Nope, another lie. and another racist implication. Over 95% of the rapes committed by blacks are against black women. In 1998 119,000 rapes against whites, 19,000 against blacks.

More....assault with injury....white victims 365,000 in 1998 vs 74,000 black victims.

But no matter what I write, or Mike Males writes, or Alexander Cockburn writes, we will continue to see headlines using the 'per 100,000' population with no income breakdown in every major news outlet. And often we will not see actual numbers. Hence a racist like Larry Limbaugh can state 65% of the murders are committed by blacks without showing us actual numbers. 'Per 100,000' it does reach 65%, but not in actual numbers even (!) let alone adjusted for colors at income level.

It is a losing battle by the left. The parameters of discussion have been so constricted that you are not even allowed to state that poverty creates crime in the USA. You are not even allowed to read (as the facts are not noted) or digest facts by sociologists who have been studying crime vs. poverty since the science began, though they will give us 'experts' without adding any journalistic duty to fact check..such as right-wing pundit hacks David Horowitz. The agenda of the corporate....

Larry Livermore likes David Horowitz..

racist media is easily discernable if people were provided the five 'Ws in the first place. Any reasonable person if asked, 'when we give you crime rates would you like to see it separated by income level?', would answer yes of course. Tell me, when was the last time you saw white violent crime mentioned in any crime article?

I wonder as a new deep depression approaches what racist logic will prevail as truth, or as Larry says, "it doesn't make for pleasant reading, but those are the facts." What more non-facts will become headlines and fodder for the right as a depression hits blacks and Latinos very very hard soon? In the past 20 years they have taken the place of a huge chunk of poor whites. The lack of opportunity, via increasingly segregated cities, millions of jobs fleeing to white sub-metro belts, disparity in school funding four-to-one, and a very real still existing racism against hiring young blacks and Latinos has supplanted millions of very poor whites with very poor 'colors' in the bottom strata of service jobs, and in make up of the majority of the unemployed now. To be sure there are tens of millions of very poor whites still, but I am not talking about the whole of the working class here; I am addressing racist twists on crime stats, and LI's singling out blacks as a violent underclass. Either way, I think it proper for all poor whites to learn the historical racism of the conservative unions (Afl-CIO, Teamsters), and that of white workers involved in pro-actively keeping urban areas segregated at least up until the 70's, and that of the racist drug war, though many whites are caught in the net also. We can't organize if you walk into a radical union meeting whining about 'affirmative action'.....that never fucking happened. Again, poverty rates among black youth 50% vs less than 15% for white.

We can't organize as equals until we know an equal wide-open view of history and have an equal cognizance of the present. That's respect, not white-guilt prostration. Ok off that soapbox and back to the man that fires my piles!

Hit List Mar/Apr 01

[The last paragraph of a worthless boring four page history of his 'life in punk rock' (which spanned all of 1986 to 1996-in Berkley-and netted him over a million dollars)]

"....I guess I'm in imminent danger of becoming what I swore I'd never be: grown up. And you know what? There are worse things that could happen to a guy. Dreams die hard, but die they must. Because it's only when they're dead and buried that life can begin to come true."

[What could be a more unattractive comment on life's fulfillment than that? Bury your dreams, and then you will have 'life'. What more of a senile soul fart could you expect?]

Hit List May/June 01

"....of free speech, at least insofar as it concerned free speech of the man who was at that moment addressing a campus organization. That man was David Horowitz, a onetime leftist and supporter of the Black Panther Party who is now a well-known conservative writer and publisher. Berkeley's "activists of color" were hopping mad because of an ad he'd placed in the [campus paper] arguing against their proposal for paying reparations to the descendants of African-American slaves..... If you're not familiar with Horowitz, much of what he says is just

garden-variety Republicanism. Nothing too extreme, but nothing I'd take too seriously, either. He probably helped get Bush elected, but then so did half you guys; the half that voted for Nader, anyway."

[I'll get to Horowitz. As I had expected he is getting facts off this right-wing pigs' website (crime stats Larry Limbaugh?). But those who voted for Nader got Bush elected?]

More consumption of headlines backed up by NO facts. The 2000 election saw the first upswing in voter turnout (as in percent of registered) in over 20 years. This means that millions more voted in 2000 than in 1996. Bush jr. got 10 million more votes than Dole did in 1996! Gore got only 2 million more than Clinton did in 96. The 6 Million votes that went to Perot in 1996 probably went to Bush in 2000. So where did those other 4 million that went to BUSH come from? Gore, the right wing democrat in Billy's footsteps lost them.

He even lost his home state! It's obvious that if there was a voter percentage upswing when there had been a steady downturn for 20 years had an 'outside cause'. There was no 'October Surprise', there was a 'boom economy' and low employment. No reason for a larger conservative turnout. Obviously Nader brought in extra voters. And only 2 million voted for him. But that is enough to push the percentage from 49% to 50%, the upswing that happened in registered turnout.

It's also obvious considering turnout among income groups that the presidential race is only between middle right and right. Votes cast break down by class. The poor don't vote (only 30% of those making less than \$20 thou a year). What's the choice? Why bother? Gore was more right-wing than Clinton....Impossible to support this notion that Nader gave the election to Bush. Not one NY Times article, or liberal magazine (Nation, In These Times etc) has even published the exact stats of the past three presidential elections to support the notion that the 3rd party takes from the Democrats. You can't trust them liberals either.....but then even people like Cockburn haven't caught the out-of-whack numbers.....ie 10 Million more for Bush than Dole..and a small increase in turnout that of course was for Nader. Check the Federal Elections Commission website for breakdown of the last 40 years....

Then Larry on David Horowitz:

"But he's written very intelligently on the subject of race and affirmative action, in particular attacking the new radical orthodoxy which sees casual abuse and denigration of white people and white culture as a "progressive" antidote for the abuse and exploitation of black people that has gone on in the past."

[Funny before I got this issue of Hit List, I saw Martin Sprouse in the Mission and I started going off at him, saying "goddamit I know Jeff Bale and Larry Livermore are such closet right wing morons, that they are even taking facts off David Horowitz's site!" Martin was a bit disbelieving they would step to such gutter Rush Limbaugh-isms. But here came this issue wherein Larry Limbaugh Rush Livermore admits to admiring a fascist—and I don't throw that word around lightly. His attacks on corporate liberals as left-wing secular stalinists is enough to put him in that mindset.

David Horowitz has 'written very intelligently on the subject of race....'?"

This right-wing shit Horowitz is so fascist he calls Hillary Clinton "America's foremost leftist" A woman that agreed with her husband cutting social services, and who talked about a national health care

plan with only corporate heads at the table!

From the website: "Horowitz exposes the religious nature of the Left's secular faith and illustrates how true believers like Mrs. Clinton will stop at nothing to attain their goals."

And more from Horowitz "Let's not confuse ourselves, moreover, by looking at the social disasters that the ACLU, the NAACP and other secular organizations have promoted and defended over the last four decades - the welfare system that destroyed inner-city black families, promoted teenage parenthood and subsidized out-of-control drug abuse, or the public educational system that promoted failure and called it self-esteem."

So Larry Livermore calls someone that attacks the ACLU and NAACP as 'secular organizations ..that have destroyed inner-city black families...' ...uhh.. 'intelligent'.

Yeah Mussolini and Hitler were 'intelligent'.

Larry continues: "You could agree, you could disagree; it's certainly a viewpoint worth discussing."

[No, most people do not want to discuss social issues and democracy with racists and fascists. And not with people that re-write history. But before anyone thinks I can 'block' any discussion with my leftist censorship, let me show some of Horowitz's 'intelligent' views 'worth discussing' as Larry Limbaugh claims. Since I am of the 'extreme left' I have to prove we are always more free with discussion.....

The bulk of the points in the David Horowitz Ad that people were demonstrating against follows. He appeared over 20 times on corporate talk shows and news programs screaming 'censorship; after some papers refused to run this ad. It is interesting to note that the Boston Globe who gave over-whelming support to Horowitz, had earlier refused the group Forest Ethics ad against Staples, but didn't mention their own 'censorship'. And also, Horowitz pulled his own ad money from a paper that resoundly criticized the ad. He was unhappy when someone actually editorialized against it; he sent a letter saying he was 'hurt' by the writer's words!

The Horowitz AD

[Note: I think reparations for black Americans is a ridiculous idea; it would create more race divisions amongst the poor whites, blacks, Latinos and Asians, and it doesn't address the big picture of economics: really what good would a couple thousand dollars do for anyone? That said, Horowitz's entire 'ad' is an attack on fact and workers and a rewrite of history.

Reparations have to do with black AMERICANS not with Africans or Arabs that engaged in the slave trade. The idea has to do with the fact that the economy of the USA was based on slave labor from 1800 to 1865. In the early 1800's cotton exports often accounted for 50% of GNP. That wealth was created by slave labor.

Portions of Horowitz's ad whom Larry Livermore says has written intelligently on the subject of race:

"Two: There Is No One Group That Benefited Exclusively From Its Fruits"

Uh yes there was. The rich white people. And the southern white workers who after the failure of Reconstruction in 1865 to 1877, were able to legally and with violent force backed up by all southern local and state govtsto take the place of all artisan and skilled craft jobs that were formerly mostly occupied by blacks. Before the civil war, the vast majority of skilled trades (carpentry etc) in all southern cities were done by blacks. Jim Crow and the failure of reconstruction was more than bus segregation. It was outright murder of thousands of church leaders, black politicians, and laborers. It was the complete subjugation of blacks, then free, back to bondage. The rich of the south and north benefited from

slavery. This is too obvious for me to state I realize, but a large part of the working whites in the south benefited from slavery and the post civil-war subjugation of blacks. Labor shortages were so bad in the late 1880's outside of the recessions, that white politicians in all southern states attempted to stop the northern migration of many blacks in a myriad of legal peonage, the worst of course being an instatement of a new form of feudalism wherein, black (and some white) workers were not paid wages but bonded to the job for the entire harvest year and only allowed to buy at company stores, sell crops to the owner etc. And still outside of some IWW and left-socialist attempts, the majority of white workers in the south engaged in violent subjugation of black workers from 1870 to 1960.

And the unions? No blacks allowed except in the red unions that were crushed not only locally by white politicians and white workers, but by the federal gov't also. There were many exceptions, but again, by only 'reds' both white and black.

"American blacks on average enjoy per capita incomes in the range of twenty to fifty times that of blacks living in any of the African nations from which they were kidnapped."

Yeah, right. And how much are rent and food costs in Somalia or Rwanda? And if half a country's GNP has to pay interest on loans to G8 banks, what does that leave for its people? Not to mention that the majority of African military dictatorships are supported and often put into power by the western democracies, especially the US.

This Horowitz crap is where Larry Livermore gets his idea that Africans would trade places with American blacks in a second. It is complete obfuscation. Nothing is noted about living costs in western countries versus Africa. Nothing can be mentioned that people are tied to their cultures and their homes. That somehow a farmer from Kenya that is attempting to carry on generations of family agriculture within a vibrant agrarian community would somehow want to pick up and move to an inner city American slum where blacks have been segregated....to scrounge here for food, or source of work.

So by this logic we can take annual per capita income of a third world country worker and say, well, American blacks make so much more, of COURSE everyone wants to move here! Ridiculous. Inversely we could then demand to these right-wing people, thus that all workers in third world countries should get an American living wage (10 to 15 dollars an hour). Then you would hear their screams, as we have over the amazing student led anti-sweatshop education and victories recently....the Gap and Nike answer, 'well at that wage in Indonesia, they are doing fine!'

Also following this logic, it is interesting Horowitz doesn't say anything about the white workers of the USA. Think you're poor? Quit whining.....you spoiled white people....but obviously this whole Horowitz Ad 'scandal' was a racist attack. An attempt to make white Americans even more racist, and thumb-up-butt ignorant. To get them to rail and rant against the horrible Stalinist liberal left that is giving free things to blacks. The last thing these right wing demagogues do is lump black and white working class together. That would get us thinking and acting together. It is the 100 year old divide and rule tactic that sadly still works. Ask a white worker if he/she thinks affirmative action helped blacks take their jobs. Most will say yes, though base easily researchable employment and poverty facts support nothing of the sort. And ask what color makes up welfare. Blame the media as much as anything. How many sociological 'left' experts were on with Horowitz on his multitude of TV appearances about this 'censorship'? None.

Larry said about Horowitz's writing..... "... in particular attacking the new radical orthodoxy which sees ca

Horowitz ad continued...Larry's source...

sual abuse and denigration of white people and white culture as a "progressive" antidote for the abuse and exploitation of black people that has gone on in the past."

Now I won't go where Larry is with his 'white culture' used in conjunction and support of David Horowitz's words. You decide.

"Three :Only A Tiny Minority Of White Americans Ever Owned Slaves, And Others Gave Their Lives To Free Them."

Horowitz is mixing class here again, as Larry does, when it benefits non-facts. No one in their right mind, thinks all southern whites (or northern whites before around 1830) ALL held slaves. Everyone knows it was the rich upperclass and that the US government benefited greatly. But it was more than a 'tiny minority'. Of the south's population in 1860 of 11 million, 4 million were slaves; there were 400,000 slaveholders. Hardly a tiny number. And he doesn't mention that cotton and the other goods under slave labor accounted for a huge amount of the USA GNP from 1880 to 1865. This logic could easily then assert that no jews were allowed reparations since so many 'white' people died trying to 'save' them. And that only a tiny minority of Germans manned the camps and benefited from slave labor, so there should have been no trials or outrage...since it was, yes just a tiny minority. My point is that, there must be a mass social (white) base to support such a system. Am I saying that then we should give money to American blacks? No, I suggest we give 'money' to all poor workers in the form of subsidized livable dweller controlled housing, health care and decent constructive jobs.

Yes, many white people gave their lives to free them. Easy to admit though by these types of people is that fact that the white people that fought in slave revolts (See Aptheker's Slave Revolts) were leftists. Certainly not a general white grouping that Larry and David want us to believe in. They demanded, these whites pre-Civil War, redistribution of land, right to unionize and other typical leftist demands.

The Civil War was not simply a war against slavery. This is accepted fact in even right-wing circles now, so I won't bother with that idea that all northern whites were fighting to free slaves. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation still allowed some Union states to keep their slaves.....hundreds of thousands actually.

More "The black middle-class in America is a prosperous community that is now larger in absolute terms than the black underclass."

A complete lie. The black middle class is not bigger than the black lower class. Unless you define 'middle class' as being able to just feed yourselves. No gov't stats show a majority of blacks owning homes, and being able to send their kids to college; an accepted test of middle class-ness found in popular opinion. Larry repeats this lie in a later Hit List letters column, claiming 'most blacks are middle class'(!). Note the usage of 'underclass' rather than working class. These right foots, stomp all over the idea of poor people of all colors uniting under the idea of class.

DH: "Reparations To African Americans Have Already Been Paid. Since the passage of the Civil Rights Acts and the advent of the Great Society in 1965, trillions of dollars in transfer payments have been made to African-Americans in the form of welfare benefits and racial preferences (in contracts, job placements and educational admissions)"

Vicious lies and continued racist right-wing portrayal of social services only going to blacks. Up until the early 1990's whites filled the majority of welfare roles. Poverty rates have increased among blacks since the late 1960's. And why would civil rights acts be considered reparations 100 years after the end of slavery? They simply made it law that blacks were allowed to vote and live where they wanted....though housing segregation continued in a multitude of other legally instituted racist directions. But that is reparations for 400 years of slavery saying 'ok not we will make sure you can vote'. Absurd.

DH: "If not for the anti-slavery attitudes and military power of white Englishmen and Americans, the slave trade would not have been brought to an end. If not for the sacrifices of white soldiers and a white American president who gave his life to sign the Emancipation Proclamation, blacks in America would still be slaves."

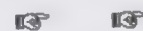
So, the white south from 1880 to 1860 was not terrified of slave revolts.? There was no Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey and Gabriel? Tens of thousands of blacks were not executed for engaging in revolt? And the many whites in abolitionist movements were part of mainstream 'white culture' of the time? Hardly. These 'whites' that stopped the 'whites' from engaging in slavery make 'all' white Christian heroes? The leap back and forth from established social and militarily enforced order to radical attacks against the establishment and then only to cast them all under a 'good whites' umbrella is an infantile cut and paste of class and time lines. As in, the good Christians did it, and then the good white Christians stopped it. So what the hell are you mad about? 'WE' saved you! And so, true, some Germans (leftist and secular) tried to stop the rampages against the Jews, while only a minority ran the ovens. In this realm of logic, all is forgivable since they were all part of the same white Christian nation-state. If you as my neighbor, white and Christian, shoot down black men, but I (white, Christian) stop you from doing it a second time, I have absolved your guilt!

Fascinating.....kinda like throwing up and taking a shit at the same time. Ever done that?

It's ugly and you don't want anyone to see it.

DH: "They would not enjoy the greatest freedoms and the most thoroughly protected individual rights anywhere. Where is the gratitude of black America and its leaders for those gifts? America's African-American citizens are the richest and most privileged black people alive — a bounty that is a direct result of the heritage that is under assault."

Uhh...yeah right. People like this that appear on news shows as 'experts' are part of the reason blacks riot.Where is your gratitude n____s, while we put a boot on your face?



The Way We Never Were — Stephanie Coontz "Those who advocate that today's youth should be taught abstinence or deferred gratification rather than sex education will find no 1950s model for such restraint. "Heavy Petting" became a norm of dating in this period, while the proportion of white brides who were pregnant at marriage more than doubled. Teen birth rates soared, reaching highs that have not been equaled since. In 1957, 97 out of every 1,000 girls aged fifteen to nineteen gave birth, compared to only 52 of every 1,000 in 1983. A surprising number of these births were illegitimate, although 1950s census codes made it impossible to identify an unmarried mother if she lived at home with her parents. The incidence of illegitimacy was also disguised by the new emphasis on "rehabilitating" the white mother (though not the black) by putting her baby up for adoption and encouraging her to "start over"; there was an 80 percent increase in the number of out-of-wedlock babies placed for adoption between 1944 and 1955"

Back to **Larry Livermore** "But Palafox [Jose, a columnist in the great punk zine *Maximum RocknRoll*]. his friends were not there to discuss things, they were there to stop discussion." [Larry is claiming a demonstration in Berkley against Horowitz was to stop him from talking rather than protest his views] " Why? Because Horowitz is a "racist," of course..... From the reaction of the crowd, you'd think lie was advocating return to segregation or slavery. But no, he's just suggesting did affirmative action and reparations are well-intentioned ideas that have not worked and will not work; that they hurt black people rather than help them. It's not that extreme an idea."

I think by above quoting of Horowitz I have shown he is a complete racist extremist.

And Larry, "As one who considers Martin Luther King to be one of the Great Americans of the 20th century, as someone who once had honor of marching with him

[Uh wait a minute, nowhere in ten years of punk rock columns does Larry place himself in the south , in Chicago, or Memphis prior to MLK's assassination in 68. What's going on here?]

"and hearing him speakKing, like Gandhi, led a movement whose power arose from a deep sense of moral purpose."

[Morals are only to be possessed by the dead and gone and accepted sanitized radicals, not by the present day radicals and crusaders]

"Then as now, the elite universities accepted only a small percentage of those who applied. That's what made them elite. Today, however, the word "elite" has gone out of fashion. The notion that some universities might be better than others, that some students might be smarter than others, is viewed as retrograde, and, all too often, racist."

Still he is harping on the non-fact that affirmative action let a bunch of less-than-smart black kids into universities. No facts to support this. And the idea that only the 'elite' can enter higher education is contrary to every freedom, liberty and equal right he lauds as the basis for the beauty of 'western culture'. Elitism is certainly contrary to democracy. No way around that. UNLESS you subscribe to the idea that SOME people are born stupid. He fails to mention in his usual thumb-up-ass sophism that MLK CONSTANTLY fought against this idea of access only to the elites. Anyway, as all of us in the real world know, most of the university system is fully elitist; out of reach of over 1/2 of the population. How much is an Ivy League school these days? \$60,000 a year? And even in California, where the state schools are cheaper than most, it is still too big of a cost for the majority of workers as most people here make less than \$20,000 a year. Hardly enough to support even one child at \$3 thousand to \$5 thousand in costs: room and board, tuition, books etc. But of course to a millionaire like LL, these amounts are pennies.

"Why this should be the case is a bit of a mystery." That is that elitism is racist."

No, it is not, if you consider that blacks were excluded from the majority of skilled apprenticeships, the vast majority of even WW2 high-paying jobs and that most of southern universities, up through the 1960's kept out blacks, and most are excluded de facto by inability to PAY. The elitism of who can pay gets their way, has nothing to do with a truly free democracy. There is no mystery about racism in the USA. The only fantasy rests in the minds of those who try to re-write history AND present day economics. And of course it is classist----- poor whites can't afford it anymore either.

"Few people have trouble accepting that not everyone is qualified to play for the New York Yankees or the LA Lakers. Most of us had to accept at some point that no matter how diligently we practice, we're just not going to make it to the big leagues. Similarly, it's well understood that certain sports tend to be dominated by certain races: one of the few things rarer than aNBA star is an African-American hockey player. Yet nobody suggests the NBA or NHL are racist institutions."

What does athletic ability, which certainly involves training and experience, but mostly size and physical agility in basketball and hockey ...have to do with education? Well, simply, people's LEARNING abilities, and BRAIN size are genetic as their height and body size is! I don't think he even knows where he is going with this line. This is straight out of the 1950's.

You know, some people can play basketball and some people should go to elite institutions to lead us!! People are just well, born this way or that.

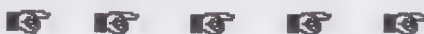
"Even more guilty. I believe, are the academic nihilists, the disciples ofFoucault, who suggest that there is no truth, that language and philosophy are meaningless constructs whose only significance is to be found in the way they are used to gain or wield power. It's difficult to get through all the undergraduate courses these days without having one's brain turned to mush by tedious forays into the tendentious thickets of deconstruction and post-structuralism."

Well as we get through his "tendentious thickets" of fallacy and racist sophism, we wonder what the use of a 'degree' is if someone like him can get one. He didn't learn history; he can't look up basic facts such as housing, crime rates, admission to universities and he has the critical thinking capacity of a gnat to lump MLK jr.'s battles with his ideas of sports vs born ability to learn.

Again, Larry said about Horowitz's writing.....".... in particular attacking the new radical orthodoxy which sees casual abuse and denigration of white people and white culture as a "progressive" antidote for the abuse and exploitation of black people that has gone on in the past."

First, this claims that abuse of black people is in the past. The disparity of utilizing mandatory sentencing against blacks in the drug war, death sentences, continued voting by white neighborhoods to restrict or outlaw multi-unit housing, denial of mortgages twice that of whites (NY Times 10/5/01 among hundreds of other articles), the constant lawsuits brought (and often won) by black workers against workplace discrimination, and the 4 to 1 disparity in funding suburban to urban schools all does not exist in Larry Livermore's world. This list could be longer and include thousands of racial slurs, death threats by police against black defendants, planted evidence etc..... The Ramparts Division in LA alone was caught planting and fabricating in hundreds of cases and the city faces tens of millions of dollars in lawsuits. And how about the recent riot in Cinci, Ohio? NY Times: "The police said Mr. Thomas was shot when Officer Steven Roach, who is white, thought he was about to draw a weapon. No weapon was found, and on Tuesday, Mayor Luken said of Officer Roach's account that "the initial finding don't back him up." The police said Mr. Thomas had 14 outstanding warrants when he was shot. But Mr. Greenwood said all were for misdemeanors or for traffic infractions." Five of them for not wearing a seat belt while driving," Mr. Greenwood said.

How many white kids you know have been pulled over five times



Larry the bore continued...

for not wearing a seat belt? Really an entire issue of this magazine could be filled with examples of racism against blacks and latinos.

And repeatedly we again see this mix of the peoples' of Europe amazing history of literature, progressive political actions and theory with that of institutional racism, institutional governmental and political denial of basic rights as one in the same: this 'white culture' as in Marx and Mussolini are one 'culture'. As Larry says... 'denigration of white people and white culture as a "progressive" antidote for the abuse ..that has gone on in the past.' I could cite more from Mein Kampf to show how this veers to the idea of infection from inferior cultures, but that would be too condescending. You know where he is going. It is worth remembering two things though:

1) the idea that democracy only appeared in Europe is wrong. It is the largest area and boldest arena of truly successful and lasting democratic reforms. But there were a multitude of cultures all over the world that had democracy in many forms. It is historical fact, to cite one simple 'american' example, that Jefferson studied the Iroquois confederation for ideas. He spoke highly of them, while the government carried out their destruction. The availability of easily domesticated animals to be used as tools and less-labor intensive food, the availability of a latitudinal spread of easily grown grains and a fairly benign climate to complete the easy transfer, among other factors, (See Guns, Germ and Steel) had much to do with the leap to industrial capitalism that Europe experienced which in turn created large cities and hence compact masses of people that could more readily organize and demand rights. The most incisive and world affecting revolutionary and progressive steps took place in urban areas, who of course were bearing the brutal brunt of a new order.

2) And simply, what about this great white culture? Only 50 years ago, these democratic states engaged in a slaughter that killed 50 Million people! Germany, wherein a majority allowed their government to exterminate a race, was also the home of great philosophers, political theoreticians, and artists. Really, only a right-wing elitist can mix the bottom up progressive actions of people with the fascists of our past, and continuing in not recognizing class, could mix up black Americans demanding justice and equality from the white power structure with that of the democratic traditions that workers, the people, the masses, the lower classes, forced from the 'white culture' power structure of Europe.

But in his and Horowitz's world we can assume they mean these people lunched together in the parlors of Europe: Picasso with Franco, Marat with Napoleon, Rosa with Churchill, Malatesta with Mussolini, Algren with Truman.

So Larry Livermore is a relatively powerless individual despite his personal wealth and large readership in the two music zines Punk Planet and Hit List. But for me it was a necessary venture. In ten years, you can watch the 'liberal' go to supporter of the anti-thesis of real democratic ideals while at the same time claiming to support historical progressions to progressive steps forward. Not an odd hypocrisy when one looks closely at today's corporate pundits and politicians. Whether we hear Rush Limbaugh, Al Gore, Thomas Friedman of the NY Times, or George Bush, who are all claiming that every demand for increased democracy or social justice is an attack on 'our culture', or unwarranted demands from special interest groups, a bell goes off in our head. Who are you really working for? Who is whose whore? And when did a large mass of people making demands suddenly be allowed to be called undemocratic? The right has learned better tactics since the 60's. Our only recourse is to become more militant, and deny more forcefully through constructive action (through many means you are all aware of), a complete counter attack of providing real history, real

alternatives, and democratic non-hierarchical forms of organizing. And of course, within these struggles for these deep rooted desires in all of us, we will fight for all to have food, and a decent place to sleep.

It is easy to pick your enemies, when they have chosen you or your neighbors as their enemy.

Nelson Algren, a great american writer said, "Do American faces so often look so lost because they are most tragically trapped between a very real dread of coming alive to something more than merely existing, and an equal dread of going down to the grave without having done more than merely be comfortable? If so, this is the truly American disease. And would account in part for the fact that we lead the world today in Insanity, criminality, alcoholism, narcoticism, psychoanalysis, cancer, homicideOur myths are so many, our vision so dim, our self-deception so deep and our smugness so gross that scarcely any way now remains of reporting the American Century except from behind the billboards."

And then Larry Livermore: "Dreams die hard, but die they must. Because it's only when they're dead and buried that life can begin to come true."

Well, Nelson Algren again "If you feel you belong to things as they are, you won't hold up anybody in the alley, no matter how hungry you may get. And you won't write anything that anyone will read a second time either."

THE END.

Crime, income sources: Bureau of Justice Statistics, FBI website, mostly victimization surveys and their violent crime numbers, US Census Bureau, US and Calif. gov't housing sites and various books such as Mike Males Scapegoat Generation, Kozol's Amazing Grace. The Myth of Political Correctness contains great research on the mass media reported myths about affirmative action and the manufactured infection of 'identity politics'. The Way We Never Were by Koontz is a good companion to all this stuff as is Mike Davis's Prisoners of the American Dream...as they add much 50's to 80's history.

For black American worker's history I used among others, Organized Labor and the Black Worker by Foner, American Negro Slave Revolts by Aptheker, The Negro in the Making of American by Quarles, The Negro and the American Labor Movement by various. The Making of the Urban Crisis by Sugre (an amazing study of postwar Detroit-now a classic). For nation-state history and war I of course used various Zinn, Chomsky, Blum. which are all extensively footnoted so timelines, quotes, and numbers are easily verifiable.

3 added post notes on the pig Horowitz that Larry deems objective and factual:

1) Here is part of a post that is on the site with NO editorial comment or counter comment, by someone named 'Tas' (7/14/00) "Never in history has there been a more pitiful race of people. My Italian ancestry came to this country well after slavery, with nothing but the clothes on their backs, and within each generation improved their standing. Every other race of people that have come to this country since, have proven time and time again that hard work and desire can overcome any obstacle. Black people will always be a burden to this country and that is a fact..... Slavery was the GREATEST thing to EVER happen to the black race. Without slavery blacks would still be living in huts without running water. Black people would know nothing of cars, cell phones, air conditioning and so on. They would probably be a disease ridden dying race of people due to their lack of intelligence and inability to adapt".....By 'Tas' 7/14/01

2) And here is this Horowitz rodent of a being with with Rush Limbaugh... Horowitz: You're right, Rush, but the Republicans A) don't have your

eloquence and B) do not have the time that you have to explain this to people. What Newt Gingrich should have done when he started welfare reform was exactly what Bill Clinton did when he signed the bill reluctantly. He should have flanked himself with two black welfare mothers. And they should have looked into the cameras and said,

"You liberals are destroying our children. You're bribing our daughters to have children out of wedlock, when they're not even old enough to take care of themselves. We need this bill to rescue us." And "standards because white racists want to keep them out? This is a lie and everybody knows it. African-Americans are failing because they are not prepared by their families and their culture to succeed. If race or poverty were the issue, the University of California would not be excluding Vietnamese and Cambodian children (who do meet the standards) in order to make room for African-American and Hispanic children."



3) Lastly Horowitz pulled a book list on 'poverty' from a university site. He declared that the

"...following list of books on U.S. poverty reflect the Stalinist grip on American Universities and what it has done to scholarly life in this country."

The majority are undeniably: #1 classic works of fiction and #2 well known and respected scholarly works on economics and first hand-accounts of human experience. I should add, the majority of the list contains 'white' authors...so who REALLY wants to wipe out 'white culture'? Why the fascist book burners as usual! (from FrontPageMagazine.com | July 3, 2001)

FICTION: Nelson Algren, *The Man with the Golden Arm*, Dorothy Allison, *Bastard Out of Carolina* Sandra Cisneros, *The House on Mango Street*, Robert Coles and Randy Testa, eds., *Growing Up Poor* Stephen Crane, *Maggie, Girl of the Streets*, Edward Dahlberg, *Bottom Dogs* Rebecca Harding Davis, *Life in the Iron Mills* Josephine Herbst, *Rope of Gold* Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* Mike Gold, *Jews Without Money* Lois Phillips Hudson, *Bones of Plenty* Francisco Jimenez, *The Circuit: Stories from the Life of a Migrant Child* Tom Kromer, *Waiting for Nothing* Meridel LeSueur, *The Girl Mina Loy*, *Hot Cross Buns* (poem) Grace Lumpkin, *To Make My Bread*, Thomas McGrath's poetry Jay Parini, *Anthracite Country: Poems* Jack Salzman, *Years of Protest* Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* Agnes Smedley, *Daughters of Earth* Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* Barbara Solomon, ed., *The Haves and Have-Nots: 30 Stories about*

NONFICTION: James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* Dorothy Allison, *Skin: Writing about Sex, Class, and Literature* Ken Auletta, *The Underclass* Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart* Osha Gray Davidson, *Broken Heartland: The Rise of the Rural Ghetto* Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Red Dirt: Growing Up Okie* Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dime: On (Not) Getting By in America*

Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* Lois Phillips Hudson, *Reapers of the Dust: A Prairie Chronicle* Robert Hunter, *Poverty Aphrodite Jones*, *What She Wanted* Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present* Jill Jonnes, *We're Still Here: The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of the South Bronx* Michael Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* Jack Kugelmass, *The Miracle of Intervale Avenue: The Story of a Jewish Congregation in the South Bronx* Meridel LeSueur, *Crusaders: The Radical Legacy of Marian and Arthur LeSueur* Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson, *And Their Children After Them* Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* LeAlan Newman, Lloyd Jones, David Isay, and John Brooks, *Our America: Life and Death on the South Side of Chicago* Annalee Newitz and Matt Wray, ed., *White Trash: Race and Class in America* Frank O'Connor, *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* James Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty in the 20th Century* David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined* Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* Mel Rosenthal, *In the South Bronx of America* Lillian Rubin, *Families on the Fault Line: America's Working Class Speaks About the Family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity* Bella Spewack, *Streets: A Memoir of the Lower East Side* William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*

Of course the RATTLESNAKE recommends EVERY one of these books. And if you read the majority of them, and thus are moved and educated, I would say you are the farthest possible thing from a 'stalinist'....but instead must be a valuable compassionate worker, an ally, and believer in the need for liberty, equality and fraternity! So rip this out now, and stuff it in your wallet...so everytime you go to a used bookstore, you know exactly what you need!!!! For San Francisco, Advark Books at Church and Market is the best place to get good buys on these types of titles. END.

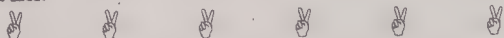
From the Way We Never Were by S. Coontz "This "new consensus" about black families and poverty is hardly original. In almost every decade, for 200 years, someone has "discovered" that the black family is falling apart. After the American Revolution, politicians argued that the loose morals of blacks made them poor candidates for citizenship. In 1844, Secretary of State John Calhoun announced that free northern blacks were rushing headlong into "vice," "Pauperism," and insanity because they lacked natural family virtues and could not survive without slaveholders' paternalism. In the 1870's, former senator Robert Toombs declared that the "the Negro knows no more about the obligations of the marriage relation...than the parish bull or village heifer." In the 1890's, historian Philip Bruce argued that black children were being born into "moral degeneracy" because emancipation had removed the constraints slaveowners had wisely imposed on black immorality. ...In 1964, Daniel Moynihan described black families as a "tangle of pathology." IN 1986 Bill Moyers said they were "vanishing."....As an example of a widespread myth, consider the so-called "explosion" of childbearing among single black women. Birth rates of unmarried black women have actually fallen by 13 percent since 1970 (compared to an increase of 27 percent among unmarried white women) [This book was written in 1992-ed]. But since birth rates of married black women have dropped by 38 percent, the proportion of black children being raised by unmarried mothers had grown."

FLUME FROM THE ROOM, CIPHERS FROM THE TOMB!

by Tommy S.



Dr. Laura's TV show failed cuz nobody wanted to LOOK at her. Over half her listeners [based on info from my 'scientific' poll] listen to her radio show to have someone to scream at — not WITH. TV makes you connect with a face and forces you to watch a speaker's mannerisms, and if the camera holds, feel an affinity with the soul behind the eyes. Very few wanted to 'connect' as in 'of the same race' with her.

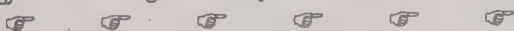


If subject of study on social psychology concerning race stereotypes is asked to actually list all encounters each day, the example that represents 'like they all are' is spurious. Futur research buttressed by editor of fast fading newsprint rag Ruttlerake, confirms this in anecdote: "While riding with an (ex)friend who claimed "it's true Chinese people can't drive." I, Dr. Strange, noted every curse of said ex-friend driver, every 'mistake' noted by said driver through the city in following manner.

"Oh look that Latino man that just cut you off, is actually a cleverly disguised Chinese woman rushing to strangle chickens!" And added later, noted each time by driver with 'hrrmmpf' 2) That Chinese man that changed without blinkers is ingenious to color his skin and putty his jawbone to resemble 60 something-old American of African decent. 3) AHHH, perfect way for bad Chinese driver to avoid police, as he strays over yellow. He is disguised as thin yuppie brit female in french sunglasses driving in 'that species' mode ...the SUV. 4) There they go again! Young chinese man disguised as 20 year old anglo bartender of Mission martini bar U turned for a parking space. Soul patch lip fuzz probably cut from his now hidden ponytail —such as they all wear!

And 5) They even infiltrate our civil space by abruptly double-parking 18-wheelers with store bought costume-garnished-oil stains as a man-from-Galveston. Nice touch, powdered sugar as meth dusted on un-shaved upper lip. We see through you Chinese driver!

My point being seriously is that people only usually note or remember the happenings and trouble by/from people outside their race or class, or one they WANT to remember for a later bitch. There is actually an academic studies program that researches this type of thing. I think Michelle from AT/SF indy media said it is called Social Psychology. A fascinating avenue if you ask me.....



For courtroom humor visit the Web site of Lloyd Duhaime, a Canadian barrister, solicitor, historian and hockey fan based in Victoria, British Columbia.....some stuff pulled from it...

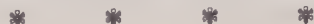
Q: Was that the same nose you broke as a child?

Now, doctor, isn't it true that when a person dies in his sleep, in most cases he just passes quietly away and doesn't know anything about it until the next morning?

What happened then?

He told me, he says, "I have to kill you becauseyou can identify me."

Did he kill you?



As some friends in the outback of America have found out, 20 copies of the Radsnick fit well into a 12 pack Sierra Nevada carton. Denise at the South Van Ness Post Office keeps getting my number when I come with my handtruck of 20 count boxes to send bound printed matter free to 'fans' of the stapled tome. I am always courteous enough to lift them up on the scale for her. Not cuz she's of other gender, but to relieve some constant strain. They work a straight hard eight hours. I am witness. Give them all a raise and let them reconfigure work area. Such friendly people at that post office. Three to four windows always empty. As if our taxes couldn't provide more living wage jobs in this service area, HA. And often a 15-minute line. But no barking or condescending remarks from these workers. And none I've seen are Anglo. Hmnnnnnn. Why (in my personal experience of 40 years—24 in Ohio, the rest in SF) do I find white workers and the white middle class so much ruder in a work situation than blacks and latinos and 'arabs' and 'asians'? I am not being racist. Most of my friends are white. I am very very whitebread. But then there is Italy and Spain! Countries I could live in bliss lifelong.....please explain you rude white americans.....Is it because most of you like me, are 'german and british decent? Oh hell, where am I going with this...Listen to William Burroughs' Thanksgiving Poem....and then answer me....



Think of this bit from Collectives in the Spanish Revolution by Gaston Leval, a book that single-handedly motes all Trotsky, Leninist, and Stalinist revisionist history of 1936.

"....At the same time the cantonal Comite of Benicarlo thanks to the friendly relations which permitted a growing unity between agriculture and industry, brought immediate improvements to the peasants' conditions. Farmers and *medieros* had no longer to pay land rent either in money or kind. They very soon benefited intersyndical relations on a regional basis, and each village had its telephone. The necessary resources for these enterprises came for the rents on the houses of the people of Benicarlo itself, who were invited to pay them to the municipal Council where our comrades had their headquarters. In return taxes were abolished and the proprietors were never thrown out onto the street. Then schools were started, kindergartens organized. All this convinced the doubters, and in the end the Collectives made their appearance. In the case of Benicarlo, initiative came therefore mainly from the centre. It was by beginning at the centre that it was possible first to start and then to extend the "Confederal Communities", thus called because of their affiliation to the C.N.T. Everything concerning the canton went through Benicarlo which was strategically well situated. Every morning an average of 150 carts brought or collected goods of all kinds. The fraternal network was finally established, and later completed. Carried along by the tide of events, the political parties either accepted the *fait accompli* or collaborated."



The 'projects' at Folsom and Chavez are finally done. And relatively speaking, they are attractive. Without going deep into the US gov't's and our rich's need to punish the poor and deny livable housing since Truman, of which that democrat and all that followed, were complicit, let me say I am doing the Chinese driver test (see above) on anyone that talks to me about 'them'. Including keeping a close eye on that green midwest looking cop that said to me at the foot of the 'projects' park "Wait until the projects open again! You won't even be able to walk your dog here!" I can only sputter when someone 15 years younger than me, tells me about living in urban areas. It's like my Father, right wing racist for his whole life, telling me (I having lived in cities since 84) that "There are a lot of drugs in the cities. And don't hire black people, cuz they all do drugs." Uh-huh.

Why did it take over six years to build this relatively pretty 'project'?

when live/work/loft may feo boxes go up in six months? Another deep direction....has to do with pay offs and city contracts.....

And why does the cop say that to me? Well friends loose on a few pints would tell me I look like one of them. And local landlords think so too. Often stopping me with "what kind of dog is that" to lead into, "we have to clean up this neighborhood"or the already tired, "ohhh the projects are coming back", I realize I appear to be that clean cut concerned citizen against the worker: drugged or disorderly, or young and angry. Nope. My pudgy german-american looks don't mean one ounce of 'us' as in me against 'they'.....

There is the guy that chased my roommate right up to the front gate at 5 Am. I heard it. I always have my window open. There is the 'new' dealer, that spits out bile just walking by me, as opposed to the lackadaisical CentAm runners on 24th. These are representative of the 'they'? There was a Chinese driver yesterday trying to sell me chiva and though he was disguised as a gaunt blanched white guy from Hennepin Street in Minneapolis, I understood and identified him as one of 'those' from the projects that hadn't opened yet.

Then I should have called the police on the hip-hop black teen disguised as a white guy from Orange County yelling at me "Give me money for bus fare, no one speaks English here!"

No kidding...."I've got to get back to Orange County." Following me into the produce store on 24th. The brown faces looked regrettably at the confrontation between the two 'white' men. I told him to crawl back, and bought some cantaloupes. An indigenous fruit I believe. And the Orange County indigenous roach crawled back to the street before I punched him in the throat. This happened another time outside the 24th Bart station. A white guy says give me a light, and yells "no one speaks english here." Scabs, roaches don't realize people don't want to speak at all to them, let alone admit to a common language. The immigrant pissing drunks on my steps look and sing yale grads to these whitebread types.

Like I said, I really am very white and have no problem with white american workers... but I have a real problem with workers assuming middle/upper class arrogance. It's what has been called 'being whitebread'....No fiber in that shit.....



Gateway Liquors at 24th and Folsom is already famous in the Mission. But let me add, that Phil the owner is a giant human being. He works almost the whole daily shift from 7Am to 10PM, he treats everyone with respect, even the 'winos' that he refuses to serve fortified wine to, and he makes good joke. Though a Willie Brown voter, he never hesitates to put lefty or pro-tenant posters on the windows, he never hesitates to listen to every customer that comes in, and he has frequently complained to me, that people are too greedy. He is sending his kids to private schools at an outrageous fee, but still acts as if it is no more than his duty.



Anyone 'radical' out protesting Bush's illegal election win this year, should consider himself or herself auhhh...well I will not be mean but still..... Gore is an oil bought born again christian stuffed puppet. Gore was the most powerful vice president in decades. His 'reinventing government' program gutted almost all worker and consumer and environmental bureaucracies. He is very fascist on the anti-crime hysteria. Thus, 2 million blacks in Florida are not allowed to vote, being ex-felons. Roger Moore's mass email bullshit comparing the Florida mis-count to the anniversary of the holocaust was typical of what liberals dream up to push this lesser of two evils bulldung. In the words of Bruce, editor of the Anderson Valley Advertiser, destroy the democratic party, it is such a lie. This goes way back, but just a bit back shows how tired the argument is. Gore actually introduced the Willie Horton black scare crap ...pushing it in NY since Jesse Jackson was winning primaries in 88. Bush then

picked up on it against Dukakis. According to all accounts, Gore was more right during the eight years than Clinton on Iraq, welfare cutbacks, more prisons, and the selling of public lands (called exchanges in the corporate media), AND the pullback on Kyoto emission agreements. George Bush Sr. actually agreed to more of a cutback on emissions than Clinton/gore! Anyone of you lesser-of-two evils have a conscience or know more than 15 minutes of history? There is much much more to this....such as the democrats back down on good worker housing postWW2 and national health care with a huge majority support among people under Truman, and then blah blah...I know these are my favorite bitches...But just remember Hilary and Bill so happy on gutting social welfare. When we have a million more homeless in this depression, will you blame Bush or Clinton and Gore? Lets get honest.....and get past these tired old arguments and start doing some good work.



The International Socialist Organization (ISO) was all over the Mission putting up flyers for the anti-Bush demo...and have been for years about their other 'educational meetings'. This 'education' includes why the IWW was ineffective (too democratic-no vanguard party etc), 'facts' about the Spanish war 1936 etc. Sure you won't hear about the right wing policies of the majority of American socialists this century: Debs wouldn't even be in their party. Wishy-washy is too kind. Take this from their website: "Revolution not Reform"...We do not support candidates of the capitalist parties like the democrats of republicans...The structures of the present government—the army, the police, the judiciary—cannot be taken over by the working class"

But they hawked papers for months advocating voting for Nader. And they organize demos against Bush cuz he stole the election? I'm confused. As all American workers are by backsliding, hypocritical state minded socialists. Hence no mass joining since the 30's. They're still playing the old Trotsky and Lenin lines.....Check this out....

"The working class needs an entirely different kind of state."...and..."To achieve socialism the most militant workers must be organized into a revolutionary socialist party to provide political leadership and organization."

So, we can assume they will pick the 'most militant workers' that will provide leadership. And as most people will ask, what will become of democracy and 'worker control' under this picking. And who wouldn't be left radical against their idea of a 'state' with this picking of 'the most militant workers'? Not near as laughable as the Revolutionary Communist Party, but just as back room snoozing. No wonder their street membership is never above 25 years....people bolt when they learn the facts about the ISO.

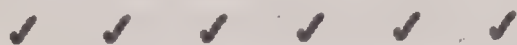
Good luck to all you bleary eyed radicals out there in America joining socialist vanguard parties. You'll burn out before 30 and end up out in the sticks hating yourself and spitting angry about the 'ignorant' undisciplined mass of the people. Talking about your 'fellow traveler' days when you never threw a brick or even engaged in real people democracy. Don't try to sell me (in ten years), in Anderson Valley or wherever, your indigenous 'crafts' or incense either you little mental midgits. Tell me about the POUM, the CNT and Mahkno! I'll still have a red (and black) card in my jeans.Our war for freedom includes war against those who denigrate and subvert democracy from all sides. Dig out those roots of that Trotsky and Leninist disease. Allow them no quarter or speech in our venues. That is not censorship. It is a war against left-fascism.



On a lighter note, The progressive majority on the SF supervisors' board is something to be happy about. Cuz of district elections, for you out-siders, some people only had to canvass their neighborhoods to get

Flume from the Room continued...

elected. I apologize to readers for being so SF centered, but really people all over the world look to us for a foist. It's true. And maybe unwarranted, but you have to admit the Mission district is an amazing place for this fucked up racist country. Amiano won my district. A given. He ain't no leftist, but he ain't no money grabbing shit either. A very nice man. And if you watch the supervisor meetings televised, you see that all our city supervisors are very well educated and concerned people, even the 'right wingers'. It gives me temporary faith in local municipal government UNTIL someone tries to do something just a bit just. And I am sure you know what I mean. Nothing short of mass action will get us what we need. Affordable and attractive housing. Bernie, Chris and Tom can't do it. Only we can with a big foist.....a shutdown. Then a build-up. An organized fist. And I don't mean that a vanguard party is gonna pick who. You lead me. I lead you. I will follow. But the absence of the black fascist Amos Brown (voted out in a conservative district!) on the board gives me a bit of faith in 'local politics' no matter how mis-guided that faith may be. I do appreciate real humanitarians, with progressive ideas even if they lock themselves in the ballot box.



Two tidbits from a roommate following this experience... .. 3rd weekend of August I am visiting Pete at Doc's Clock on Mission. Later drunk I strike up conversation with two forty something blond women. I don't hold it against them they are from the Marina District (one of the richest per capita urban areas in the world for you outsiders). Really I didn't. I give them directions to the Attic since they wanted to smoke and drink. Should've been perplexed they didn't know how to get to 24th street from 20th street and find a bar but went on being nice. Then BAM ETC! the KGO hot talk right wing radio disciples they are kick in with 'the homeless all want to be that way' and the 'free market is the only way to make things efficient'....and I asked about health care, housing subsidization, and why you see so few homeless in much poorer countries such as Spain or Italy, and they said it was a 'cultural thing'. That's the new catch phrase with everyone on the right, so they can dodge their racism and fascist ideas about economics. It is a 'cultural' thing. They will never answer why white Americans are five times more likely to murder than euro-based whites, but of course you know....you can lie and lie and deny and suddenly you have 'facts'. And why euro-descended whites lost this 'culture' that puts them on the street no one can explain. I'm a little touchy about this kind of thing as you can imagine. As was stated by the man the hero of the mission, Jimmy, I don't like rich folk spreading their propaganda in what is still largely a working class neighborhood. I wanted to kill them. Ahh but lucky for me, I realized I was too drunk to follow them and commit assault. I want to meet my new friend Jack M. at Pelican Bay but not through 25/life in the cell next to him!!!!

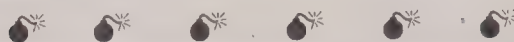
.....pause.....

So my roommate tells me the next morning, that he went to the Attic on 24th....then (which is now changing ownership) and observed 8 to 10 young females dressed up coming in and scooping the scene.(Or is that scoping?) Apparently they were unsatisfied with the potential bull-dung-dong mates and left suddenly. My roommate heard one say as she left, that "This is the kinda place where people order shots! Ugh"

Well, yes that is a bar, young lady.

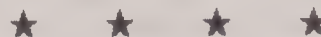
Then 3 weeks later, this same roommate tells me, he was with a friend fairly knowledgeable about Middle East problems. This friend has a couple of females with him. One is so blighted by TV radiation, she shouldn't have to do any highlights on her hair. Roommates friend says something about , this goes back to the US support of Israel, and the control of oil supplies and war over such, and the female declares, "Oil, but we have plenty. Like in Dallas,

like remember JR? Why would we fight over oil?" These are the people putting flags out their windows for the 'War Against Terrorism'.



I watched more television from Sept 11 Tuesday on through Friday than I have my whole life. I have three videotapes full of national bits and broadcasts. Mike my roommate made me turn on the TV at 6:30 AM Tuesday, knowing I was up as usual cuz I make loud sounds in the 'leisure' area, and I was shocked as we all were. First thing I thought, was, ohh NO who are they (the Gov't) going to bomb now? And then seeing how many people were in the World Trade Center at 9 AM, I was very sad, and angry. All those workers now victims, and as dumb as the girl above that thinks all our oil comes from Texas, they really had no complicity in much of what our government does. I really truly believe, that Americans are not guilty. The indoctrination starts from day one in public schools and continues on through life with a constant right-wing barrage from the media. They should feel no pain. or loss of family anymore than Iraqis under the fascist Sadam. Yes, still 'we' are responsible in creating the Taliban in Afghanistan, and helping Sadam gas 5,000 Kurds, and yes our gov't is responsible for supporting a right wing Israeli state when back in 1948 many many zionsists wanted two states, both left and secular.....but I can't blame people just going to work. That's the anarchist in me.

Not to mention both sides are enemies to us. Both sides are right wing or fascist. Religious fundamentalists, and the out-of-border actions of the USA gov't. But our pacifist, and non-violent, and aggressive left democratic voices will never be heard in this country. We have no power.



Caught Mike Wallace on the second day, actually giving truth through his pandering right wing little Walmart mug of soliloquies. He interviewed an ex-CIA agent and they both agreed that the Taliban was a creation of the US/CIA, and Osama Bin Laden was funded by our tax dollars. Didn't hear much of that in the next three days.



One of the most irritating infantile spiels I heard was from a local station. I don't know her name, but I sure know her face.

"We help all the countries on the world, and no one ever comes to us in need, it is nice to see some countries actually care about AMERICA." She went on longer than this. Probably a neighbor of those Marina blondes I mentioned above. While she says this she is reporting that the Congress has authorized 40 billion dollars to do whatever destruction President Duffass wants. 15 Billion to the Airlines already (some free market—that is violation of WTO rules!) That's more than the yearly GNP of most countries.....little whining shits.....You can't expect a rational response from our media I know....that yes, this is an outrage, and yes why do so many people have to die for absolutely no reason.....and then leap to 'we help everyone'....Bombs and support of anti-democratic gov'ts including Hussein and the Shah, and the Taliban....are not considered 'help' on the rest on the planet. But really, we are so battered, us 'Americans' aren't we?

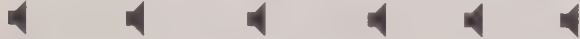
The workers feel that way by your corporations and your government.



Consider this 'free/trade/market' example:

RussiaAP-10/12/00—50 million children in Eastern Europe, 40 million in the former Soviet Union, are living in "genuine poverty." Over 160 million- 40 percent- of the region's population are thought to live in poverty. Poverty has increased more than tenfold over the last decade.." The brains of the Harvard and Chicago School of Business (see Grieder's "One World.."), moved in after the wall fell, and helped

themselves, their corporate cronies and the still entrenched Soviet party ruling class and sold the whole country off. You never see Russia as an example of 'growth and trickle down through 'free trade'....for a reason. Recently the experts have been pointing to China's growth as an example, without mentioning that China has more protective rules in place than even the US. You can't do business there without co-ownership with the state, and currency control. And there goes Argentina down the tubes even with a huge (US tax-payer subsidized bailout)....one more 'example' down for the count. Tic-Toc....

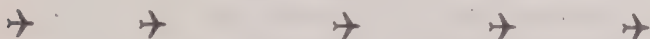


NY Times March 18, 2001 "How Did They Value Stocks? Count the Absurd Ways"

"It has now become painfully clear, and last week's gyrations only added more proof, that Wall Street is a different place than it was even a short time ago. A brutish, bearish market has brought with it deflated hopes and new realities. Among the harsh realities one stands out. Of all the hot air generated during the great bull market of the late 1990's, none propelled stock prices further than the notion that new economy stocks were a breed apart and should not be held to stringent, old economy investing standards. In their infatuations, perhaps the biggest mistake investors made during the bull market was to believe corporate propaganda. A close scrutiny of balance sheets was decidedly missing during much of the late-1990's bull market, even in many 'Wall Street analysts' reports. As a result, many investors missed such warning signs as bloating inventories and rising accounts receivables that foretold a slowdown in sales at many technology companies. These included Gateway, Cisco Systems, Nortel Networks and Alcatel. Between 1966 and 1969, when the ardor for conglomerates was at its height, investors believed that their share prices could never fall. Then, in 1970, they plunged, and with them went the conventional wisdom. "The whole concept of what's earnings and what's on the cash-flow statement has become so bastardized that nothing makes much sense any more," he said. Byron Wien, chief United States investment strategist at Morgan Stanley...." You're all too smart to wonder why articles like this weren't front page in 92 when the 'boom' started. You never get a history lesson in the paper's unless it has no effect on faith in the market. Once that market is overwhelmingly disappointing and destructive through barometers too obvious to cover, then journalists suddenly start adding a couple 'W's, such as what? And how? The crash doesn't matter to most people as far as their 'worth' goes...the average person losing a thousand dollars in stock 'worth' gets angry, but it is nowhere near the worth of say a \$1 a hour boost in wages or salary. 90% of the stocks are still owned by 10% of the people, but a crash directly affects investment capital, peoples' retirement funds, and gluttonous consumption and leisure spending by the upper middle. The last fueling so many service sector jobs that so many of us work. I don't cheer the oncoming depression. I only warn myself and you of what could become a very dark and dangerous time.

A doubling of the prison population from 92 on while violent crime was dropping...so imagine what will happen when people really start whacking each other, and a few rich along the way.

We didn't need the terrorists and this attack's cause of more limits on defendant and free speech fights; to see the sinister jeopardy coming harem scarem down from the gated hills.



First day of the attack, Mike Wallace gets that video we've all seen by now of the guy that just came out of the church and pointed the camera up, getting an amazing shot of the second plane ripping through a whole floor. The author was a very decent and saddened man....but it was very tired to have all these video and on-the-street reporters showing up with the dust still all over them. These studios have an entire make-up staff, that rush during breaks just to move one hair. And no-one was

huffing and puffing 'I just RAN here'. And every damn time, the blues-caster says "We can tell by the dust all over you that....". Trite and insulting to us all. But the second video that came in later the first day, from a balcony across the way...a stationary shot of the fire...and then the first crumble and collapse of one tower has the sound still included by the people. (It's funny now, but wasn't then considering it all)....Voice: 'OH my God, this is horrible' Mike Wallace adds in his very weighty and authoritative voice "Indeed.".....ten seconds or so, the tower collapses...voices behind camera scream and one guy yells "HOLY FUCKING JESUS". Pause....Then Mike Wallace flustered says, "We apologize ladies and gentlemen for the language, these are amateur videos and...." As if any listener would be offended by that considering what was going on. What an old fart. Half the country was yelling "HOLY FUCKING JESUS/ALLAH" during the whole day.



So it's time now for me to say "I like Bush better than Clinton or Gore." He's funny. He can't talk much better than a chimpanzee. He's comedy, irony—the humorous tumor of the whole hierarchy. The castle-builder of the top-tier of Walmart managers. "C'mon team lets go!" You know.....I'm a loving guy...."...but he will get tough!!!

It's funny and appropriate for the whole charade of this democracy. So much better than the more intelligent democrats who rape and pillage with better scripted sound bites. Whence the liberal lap-dogs roll over....scratch my tummy, while you rip the life out of our society. God I am really liking this Bush guy. Cuz I like reality. The twelve steps of pathos of the patrimony. I'm sure we will all hear in three years that if Gore had been elected we would not have had a world war. You can clip this couponit's worth one big guffaw. Billy must have to have a ton of security in his office in Harlem. And we are talking angry workers....Billy and Al killed at least a 1/2 million people and are directly responsible for the worse condition of Harlem and South Bronx.

Two weeks after the attack at a CIA laudatory press show, Bush says, "I just want America to know that these people are working (pause) hours...." Any normal human would insert a cliché here, say 24/7, or dawn to dusk or every waking hour....but he says...hours. He reveals that for him to work more than one hour, is hard work. That to work is to work...."hours".

It is really a sight to see. I love this guy. Also proof that 50 million people in the USA are bland troll stumbling idiots such as he. But have you ever looked into Gore's eyes? You see a deep blankness. Almost the reach of poverty of depth that horrible criminal Madeline Albright possesses. The rest of us see better grasp of the human condition in a junkie's eyes.

Also proof-by both of their lack of intellect and inability to form passionate non-scripted thoughts—that our 'higher education' is a joke. Both have had the best schools and tutors since birth. They wouldn't know the difference between Thomas Paine and John Adams.

Letter from MG—"Hey Tommy - I'm here in beautiful sweaty New Orleans, and all is going very well.Are you going to come see me and help me explore? The whole 9/11 thing is so surreal, isn't it? Like a movie to watch the video, but the scale of death is so large I can't wrap my brain around it. I'm terrified of what's to come—further destruction of civil liberties, heightened xenophobia and racism, insane retaliatory strikes that will make Sudan look minor but probably be just as ill considered and tragic, basically this whole country off on war-mongering ignorant insanity. And for sure no one in power is going to say: gee, maybe our imperialist amoral conduct overseas needs

Flume from the Room continued..

rethinking. Not to mention our president can't even read a teleprompter without pausing at all the wrong moments. God help us."

Don't worry Mary Gail, me and you and all the other american anarchists will cause a general strike to stop the massacres in Iraq and Afghanistan as soon as we are done arguing whether we should wear leather, use rice milk vs soy, and if stopping WAR is coercion.....ooopppps sorry....

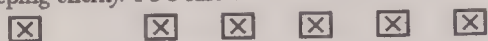


So, 4 million dollars donated within 8 days. And then all our 'working class' rock star heroes do an aid show that was on ...hell, I dunno...20 channels to raise more money.

I can imagine that every homeless worker in the country is wishing an Arab bombs the overpass they are sleeping under. Then a week later I get Howard fucking Stern telling people to donate. He grosses over 50 million dollars a year. One year of his salary and we could house most of the workers in decent housing in California alone. But no, let the free market take care of it, and send your wages to people that already have millions of dollars in account. It would be nice to see an 'Aid' concert by all these rich nice people to help the workers that have been out-of-aid for 30 years in the richest country in the world. Already over 150 million dollars [now over 600 mil] raised for the victims' families. Certainly in our world view, it also would not be appropriate to make sure Palestinians have a place to live, have decent schools ..homes...oops cant say that.



Diane Feinstein, our liberal democrat (hack!hack!) warmonger, bloodily handed witch (arms to Indonesia for genocide in the 80's! It was for jobs for California!), says we should ban foreign students for six months. Vibrant, intelligent people that pay taxes, tuition, and get nothing in citizen rights in return (no voting rights, lack of due process in courts, no benefits allowed) are suddenly a creeping enemy. YOU know what that smells of.



Pondering our powerlessness to demand common sense justice from our world, I often think of the truly whacked walking our streets and in a strange way, I envy them. Their days are simple traverses of targets, goals, and then rest. Nothing but the visceral comes into play. The 'wounded man' may be dead by now, OD'ed. But in his life he had one purpose and one daily role to fill. To get a fix by fooling you. His trickery worked on me, and others I heard. Well yes I am a sucker for anyone hard up....With some type of 'bloody plastic' stuck to forearm fashioned in a convincing gristled open wound; he could on a dark sidewalk convince you that he really was in need of emergency care. The spiel was too much; you could tell he was wired and lying, but the wound looked real. That alone got me to give him five bucks. "I just had an accident on my bike, and I have to get to a hospital" Here's five bucks. "And I have to go to my aunt in Concord so she can take care of me and I" Nope just five bucks....But the gig was up in the daylight. Only a few days later at noon he accosted me at Valenica and 15th "I just had an accident on my bike...." N. says, "hey you tried that on us days ago!" ..He pauses, then as junkie with humility says "Oh sorry..." and hits up someone down the street. Ken got the same, and said later he saw 'wounded man' shooting up full view in a train station. So strung out, the gig was up since he couldn't wait for dusk or even know to change neighborhoods, and thus his rep traveled in.....

weeks among the Mission bars. Ingenuity! The free market lost a genius to the running horse.










On an up end note, the 4 to 5 thousands sq feet I have been looking to rent will be found soon after this issue gets shipped. I waited from May to August knowing every drop in 25 cents per square foot meant a savings of over a monthly thousand dollars in rent as well as a savings of 3 to 4 thousand in the initial deposit. Now after the 'attack' has accelerated the inevitable, I'm looking at saving even more. Add to the fact that over 2 million sq ft of office space is still under construction in SF so we're looking at a glut. Sadly none of the thousands of small businesses, and light manufacturing firms that were forced out by the boom with so much help by Joe O'Donoghue and Willie. will be able to return. Moving costs can ruin a small business.








I'm sticking to my original plane: 1,500 sq. ft for bar/café/eating, at least 2,500 for a meeting/music hall and the rest for library, computer/video room...whatever we can fit...along with my simple woodworking stuff. All done up with murals and huge photos and stories of our heroes. I want those who enter to see immediately what the hell the red and black syndicate means, though everyone will be welcome. \




Just today,(10/5/01) a headline that Bush will give \$ 280 million dollars in food to Afghans, even with ok from some countries to let locals deliver it across the borders. Did Clinton and Gore ever send food to the starving Iraqis? Point to ponder, and he hasn't even started bombing yet. Who behind him is pushing this amazing propaganda effort? And whence goes this lesser of two evils argument? Gore had no qualms about starving one million Iraqis. And for the minority of peace activists that are yelling about republicans, or still whining about the 'lost election', the democrats bombed Iraq weekly for the past ten years. No war? There has been constant war...in Columbia....against the Palestinians and Iraq. BUT the whole food-drop is a propaganda ploy. The Afghan knows that. Only days after the US started to threaten to bomb, the UN had to pull out its food relief workers and trucks...who were set to hand-deliver millions more than the worth of peanut butter our planes are dropping. Here's where the media-consuming public have to exercise some imagination and activate their historical memory. For help, we can turn to the excellent information that is on the record, compiled by, among others, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (www.banminesusa.org) and humanitarian aid groups that work in Afghanistan like Oxfam. Air drops lure people off the roads into landmined areas. Afghanistan has 1/5 of the world's active mines. The population of Afghanistan, we know, is roughly 20.9 million. UN agencies recently estimated some 7.5 million of those were "on the brink of disaster." What does the UN reckon is needed? \$584 million in food aid and water aid before the onset of winter. U.S. has pledged \$320 million. Oxfam reports that this is the last month that critical food and grain and medical aid can be shipped to some areas before the winter cuts them off. What is needed? Supplies to last local people not a day or two, but until spring. "To feed 6 million people we would need more than 125 flights of Hercules airplanes each day," says Paul Smith-Lomas, Oxfam's Humanitarian Director. "This might be mathematically possible but unlikely to happen because civilian planes cannot fly in a war zone." Barbara Stocking, Oxfam's director, told the British Guardian that "all aid should be channeled through the UN "to be seen as impartial and separate from military action. Trucking of food is cheaper and is tried and tested. Air drops are risky, random, expensive, and likely to meet only a fraction of the need. Aid workers would be put in a difficult position if food aid came to be viewed as part of a military effort". In the run up to air strikes, fearing a massive influx of refugees, Pakistan,

Iran and the former Soviet republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan closed their borders in line with an American request.

      
Basra again.....AP story Oct. 11 — A tight-knit group of Pentagon officials and defense experts outside government is working to mobilize support for a military operation to oust President Saddam Hussein of Iraq as the next phase of the war against terrorism, senior administration officials and defense experts said. The group, which some in the State Department and on Capitol Hill refer to as the "Wolfowitz cabal," after Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz, is laying the groundwork for a strategy that envisions the use of air support and the occupation of southern Iraq with American ground troops to install a Iraqi opposition group based in London at the helm of a new government, the officials and experts said. Under this notion, American troops would also seize the oil fields around Basra, in southeastern Iraq, and sell the oil to finance the Iraqi opposition in the south and the Kurds in the north, one senior official said.

      
These search engines are annoying with their top page ad bogus links. Look what I got searching on cluster bombs:
Click here for "cluster bombs" at SMARTpages! Buy and sell "cluster bombs" and millions of other items at eBay [I doubt this one! As in, 'dude, is it CB 46, or the 47 'B' series from the Serbia drop?' or 'Is this bomb the initial pressing with the orange crush colored cover?' 'Does it contain the thousand ripping-flesh metal parachutes, or is it just the kill-the-peasant-with shot bottom drawer version?' I want a certificate, along with proof that your sex pistols white label is virgin vinyl. ']
Shop for cluster bombs and more at Amazon.com
Find an auto dealer near you, near 'cluster bombs'... That click should have produced fields in Serbia, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.....Instead I got a Honda dealer in south city.

     
THESE ARE OUR WAR EXPERTS.....Well Christopher Hitchens of the Nation trusts them!

Not only has the US bombed a Red Cross distribution center TWICE already, destroying aid and supplies for 50,000 disabled Afghans, they, the experts, are showing an amazing lack of sense in even something as simple (and wrong) as air-drops of food

MARKING FOOD IN YELLOW AS THE YELLOW CLUSTER BOMBS..October 29, 2001 by Reuters U.S. Warns Afghans of Yellow Cluster Bomblets by Deborah Zabarenko

"U.S. radio broadcasts into Afghanistan now include a safety warning: airdropped food parcels are square, unexploded cluster bombs are can-shaped, and both are yellow, so it is important to tell them apart. "Attention people of Afghanistan!" the broadcasts in Persian and Pashto say. "As you may have heard, the Partnership of Nations is dropping yellow Humanitarian Daily Rations. The rations are square-shaped and are packaged in plastic. They are full of good nutritious, Halal food," prepared according to Islamic precepts. "In areas far from where we are dropping food, we are dropping cluster bombs," the radio spots say, according to a transcript obtained on Monday. "Although it is unlikely, it is possible that not every bomb will explode on impact. These bombs are a yellow color and are can-shaped... Please, please exercise caution when approaching unidentified yellow objects in areas that have been recently bombed." (A complete lie about it being 'unlikely'...)






Not only am I infuriated that we are bombing more people that have nothing to do with any terror, I am also absolutely mad near

psychosis that our government is so inept in that 1) Cluster bombs. Depleted Uranium bullets (called armor-piercing in the press) are being used again(a war crime), when this is not a war against 'arabs or islam' as Bush and the liberals state, and that 2) The experts can't even write the proper language on the very wrong food air drops, advised the neighboring countries to seal the borders, cutting off ten times the food deliveries in \$ amount 'we' are doing..that was delivered by trucks and non-military. And they can't even THINK to put different obvious warning signs on food vs. cluster bombs.

Our Experts are idiots. The picture on the cover of last week's (late Oct) SF Chronicle of a young serviceman tells the story: He is writing "Come and Get It" on a pallet of food; which of course did NOT contain wheat and oil, the Afghans' main staples. Not only do most Afghans not know English, but such vernacular/idiom does not even translate. In fact, as all of you know that have ANY exposure to a another language, that phrase could easily translate into a deaththreat. As in, this box is for the Taliban. The Chronicle printed this picture as an 'awwww isn't that nice' above the fold encouragement. Would ANY of you even THINK to drop food, or truck it, without not FIRST checking what the local diet is? And how NGOs and the UN have been doing it for years? The gov't had to be told they should pay attention to diet after the first round of peanut butter packets...

And would ANY of YOU even THINK of leaving thousands of anti-(unexploded)-personnel devices in an area where 'we' claim we are fighting for the people's democracy? My god, yellow markings on both food and unexploded bomblets? Idiots, goddamn fucking idiots. Would ANY of YOU allow some dumb-ass to write in English on a food drop to a middle eastern country? These are our 'experts' and 'leaders'.....and they are in control.

:What is the toll by now in-country? Ten thousand? The faces, the lives will be buried and found only in the 'left media' six months from now as in the case of the war against Iraq. Or take Serbia-another bombing Hitchens supported-: "Even worse, US-made cluster bomblets are bright yellow, roughly the size and shape of soda cans, making them especially attractive to children. In Kosovo, children under 14 are nearly five times more likely to be killed or injured by a cluster munition than by a land mine left by retreating Yugoslav forces, the Red Cross report found. (AP Sept 5)

    
From FAIR:

CNN Says Focus on Civilian Casualties Would Be "Perverse"
November 1, 2001

According to the Washington Post (10/31/01), CNN Chair Walter Isaacson "has ordered his staff to balance images of civilian devastation in Afghan cities with reminders that the Taliban harbors murderous terrorists, saying it seems perverse to focus too much on the casualties or hardship in Afghanistan." Post media reporter Howard Kurtz quotes a memo from Isaacson to CNN's international correspondents: "As we get good reports from Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, we must redouble our efforts to make sure we do not seem to be simply reporting from their vantage or perspective. We must talk about how the Taliban are using civilian shields and how the Taliban have harbored the terrorists responsible for killing close to 5,000 innocent people."

"We must keep in mind, after seeing reports like this from Taliban-controlled areas, that these U.S. military actions are in response to a terrorist attack that killed close to 5,000 innocent people in the U.S.' or, 'We must keep in mind, after seeing reports like this, that the Taliban regime in Afghanistan continues to harbor terrorists who have praised the September 11 attacks that killed

Flume from the Room continued...

close to 5,000 innocent people in the U.S.,' or 'The Pentagon has repeatedly stressed that it is trying to minimize civilian casualties in Afghanistan, even as the Taliban regime continues to harbor terrorists who are connected to the September 11 attacks that claimed thousands of innocent lives in the U.S.' "

Davis stated that "even though it may start sounding rote, it is important that we make this point each time."

The New York Times reported (11/1/01) that these policies are already being implemented at CNN, with other networks following a similar, though perhaps not as formalized, strategy. "In the United States," the Times noted, "television images of Afghan bombing victims are fleeting, cushioned between anchors or American officials explaining that such sights are only one side of the story."

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NO SURPRISE>>>>from FAIR reports: With both Fox and CNN crusading against coverage of civilian deaths in Afghanistan, it's little wonder that self-censorship is taking place at smaller outlets. A memo circulated at the Panama City (Fla.) News Herald and leaked to Jim Romenesko's Media News warned editors:

"DO NOT USE photos on Page 1A showing civilian casualties from the U.S. war on Afghanistan. Our sister paper in Fort Walton Beach has done so and received hundreds and hundreds of threatening e-mails and the like.... DO NOT USE wire stories which lead with civilian casualties from the U.S. war on Afghanistan. They should be mentioned further down in the story. If the story needs rewriting to play down the civilian casualties, DO IT. The only exception is if the U.S. hits an orphanage, school or similar facility and kills scores or hundreds of children."

Keep sending those checks to 'public radio'.....

The host of Fox News Channel's "Special Report with Brit Hume" (11/5/01) recently wondered why journalists should bother covering civilian deaths at all. "The question I have," said Hume, "is civilian casualties are historically, by definition, a part of war, really. Should they be as big news as they've been?"

The idea that civilian casualties have been "big news" in the U.S. is questionable, but the Fox pundits more or less agreed with Hume. Mara Liasson from National Public Radio was direct: "No. Look, war is about killing people. Civilian casualties are unavoidable." Liasson added that she thought what was missing from television coverage was "a message from the U.S. government that says we are trying to minimize them, but the Taliban isn't, and is putting their tanks in mosques, and themselves among women and children." (Of course, anyone who has watched much TV news knows that this information is included in virtually every report.)

Fox pundit and U.S. News & World Report columnist Michael Barone echoed Hume's earlier remarks: "I think the real problem here is that this is poor news judgment on the part of some of these news organizations. Civilian casualties are not, as Mara says, news. The fact is that they accompany wars."

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On 11/10/01 Chelsea Clinton was among a group of American students which disrupted an anti-war meeting in Oxford. Frustrated at anti-American feeling, the daughter of the former President arrived at the 500-strong meeting in Oxford Town Hall (in the UK!) with a dozen friends who heckled speakers. Miss Clinton, confessed that she is feeling isolated and threatened by the mood she has detected at the university. She found it difficult encountering "anti-American feeling" from peace demonstrators. As soon as the meeting began, members of her mostly American group shouted patriotic slogans from the back. Speakers were prevented

from continuing after other young Americans approached them and unfurled a Stars and Stripes flag. Katy Beinart, a student CND member who spoke at the meeting, said that Miss Clinton had arrived "making a lot of noise".

When John Haylett, editor of the Morning Star, began to argue that the media had failed to consider the effects of the bombing on Afghan civilians, Miss Clinton and her friends called out that he should remember the victims of the terrorist attacks on New York. I would have asked, "why?"

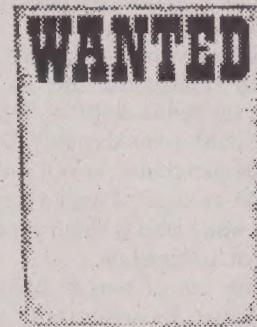
Since when are Afghan civilians deemed responsible for the WTC attack? And we know the media is blocking out civilian death reports....How much does this Oxford 'education' cost these days?

✚ ✚ ✚ ✚ ✚

"And we're gonna get him dead or alive...like those posters you use to see in the old west..."

-(Your president)

He means this:



Fascimile of 'poster from the old west'.

Insert Evil-Doer's face.

Then world be warned... watch out for this 'loving guy'.

Monday, October 29, 2001 in the Mirror/UK

Hidden Agenda Behind War on Terror

by John Pilger

The war against terrorism is a fraud. After three weeks' bombing, not a single terrorist implicated in the attacks on America has been caught or killed in Afghanistan.

Instead, one of the poorest, most stricken nations has been terrorised by the most powerful - to the point where American pilots have run out of dubious "military" targets and are now destroying mud houses, a hospital, Red Cross warehouses, lorries carrying refugees. Unlike the relentless pictures from New York, we are seeing almost nothing of this. Tony Blair has yet to tell us what the violent death of children - seven in one family - has to do with Osama bin Laden. And why are cluster bombs being used? The British public should know about these bombs, which the RAF also uses. They spray hundreds of bomblets that have only one purpose; to kill and maim people. Those that do not explode lie on the ground like landmines, waiting for people to step on them. If ever a

weapon was designed specifically for acts of terrorism, this is it. I have seen the victims of American cluster weapons in other countries, such as the Laotian toddler who picked one up and had her right leg and face blown off. Be assured this is now happening in Afghanistan, in your name. None of those directly involved in the September 11 atrocity was Afghani. Most were Saudis, who apparently did their planning and training in Germany and the United States. The camps which the Taliban allowed bin Laden to use were emptied weeks ago. Moreover, the Taliban itself is a creation of the Americans and the British. In the 1980s, the tribal army that produced them was funded by the CIA and trained by the SAS to fight the Russians.

The hypocrisy does not stop there. When the Taliban took Kabul in 1996, Washington said nothing. Why? Because Taliban leaders were soon on their way to Houston, Texas, to be entertained by executives of the oil company, Unocal. With secret US government approval, the company offered them a generous cut of the profits of the oil and gas pumped through a pipeline that the Americans wanted to build from Soviet central Asia through Afghanistan. A US diplomat said: "The Taliban will probably develop like the Saudis did." He explained that Afghanistan would become an American oil colony, there would be huge profits for the West, no democracy and the legal persecution of women. "We can live with that," he said. Although the deal fell through, it remains an urgent priority of the administration of George W. Bush, which is steeped in the oil industry. Bush's concealed agenda is to exploit the oil and gas reserves in the Caspian basin, the greatest source of untapped fossil fuel on earth and enough, according to one estimate, to meet America's voracious energy needs for a generation. Only if the pipeline runs through Afghanistan can the Americans hope to control it. So, not surprisingly, US Secretary of State Colin Powell is now referring to "moderate" Taliban, who will join an American-sponsored "loose federation" to run Afghanistan. The "war on terrorism" is a cover for this: a means of achieving American strategic aims that lie behind the flag-waving facade of great power. The Royal Marines, who will do the real dirty work, will be little more than mercenaries for Washington's imperial ambitions, not to mention the extraordinary pretensions of Blair himself. Having made Britain a target for terrorism with his bellicose "shoulder to shoulder" with Bush nonsense, he is now prepared to send troops to a battlefield where the goals are so uncertain that even the Chief of the Defense Staff says the conflict "could last 50 years".

The irresponsibility of this is breathtaking; the pressure on Pakistan alone could ignite an unprecedented crisis across the Indian sub-continent. Having reported many wars, I am always struck by the absurdity of effete politicians eager to wave farewell to young soldiers, but who themselves would not say boo to a Taliban goose. In the days of gunboats, our imperial leaders covered their violence in the "morality" of their actions. Blair is no different. Like them, his selective moralizing omits the most basic truth. Nothing justified the killing of innocent people in America on September 11, and nothing justifies the killing of innocent people anywhere else. By killing innocents in Afghanistan, Blair and Bush stoop to the level of the criminal outrage in New York. Once you cluster bomb, "mistakes" and "blunders" are pretence. Murder is murder, regardless of whether you crash a plane into a building or order and collude with it from the Oval Office and Downing Street.

GRIEF: A father weeps over his dead son after the bombs blunder in Kabul. If Blair was really opposed to all forms of terrorism, he would get Britain out of the arms trade. On the day of the twin towers attack, an "arms fair", selling weapons of terror (like cluster bombs and missiles) to assorted tyrants and human rights abusers, opened in London's Docklands with the full backing of the Blair government. Britain's biggest arms customer is the medieval Saudi regime, which beheads heretics and spawned the religious fanaticism of the Taliban. If he really wanted to demonstrate "the moral fibre of Britain", Blair would do everything in his power to lift the threat of violence in those parts of

the world where there is great and justifiable grievance and anger. He would do more than make gestures; he would demand that Israel ends its illegal occupation of Palestine and withdraw to its borders prior to the 1967 war, as ordered by the Security Council, of which Britain is a permanent member. He would call for an end to the genocidal blockade which the UN - in reality, America and Britain - has imposed on the suffering people of Iraq for more than a decade, causing the deaths of half a million children under the age of five. That's more deaths of infants every month than the number killed in the World Trade Center.

There are signs that Washington is about to extend its current "war" to Iraq; yet unknown to most of us, almost every day RAF and American aircraft already bomb Iraq. There are no headlines. There is nothing on the TV news. This terror is the longest-running Anglo-American bombing campaign since The Wall Street Journal reported that the US and Britain faced a "dilemma" in Iraq, because "few targets remain". "We're down to the last outhouse," said a US official. That was two years ago, and they're still bombing. The cost to the British taxpayer? £800 million so far. According to an internal UN report, covering a five-month period, 41 per cent of the casualties are civilians. In northern Iraq, I met a woman whose husband and four children were among the deaths listed in the report. He was a shepherd, who was tending his sheep with his elderly father and his children when two planes attacked them, each making a sweep. It was an open valley; there were no military targets nearby. "I want to see the pilot who did this," said the widow at the graveside of her entire family. For them, there was no service in St Paul's Cathedral with the Queen in attendance; no rock concert with Paul McCartney. The tragedy of the Iraqis, and the Palestinians, and the Afghans is a truth that is the very opposite of their caricatures in much of the Western media. Far from being the terrorists of the world, the overwhelming majority of the Islamic peoples of the Middle East and south Asia have been its victims - victims largely of the West's exploitation of precious natural resources in or near their countries.

There is no war on terrorism. If there was, the Royal Marines and the SAS would be storming the beaches of Florida, where more CIA-funded terrorists, ex-Latin American dictators and torturers, are given refuge than anywhere on earth. There is, however, a continuing war of the powerful against the powerless, with new excuses, new hidden agendas, new lies. Before another child dies violently, or quietly from starvation, before new fanatics are created in both the east and the west, it is time for the people of Britain to make their voices heard and to stop this fraudulent war - and to demand the kind of bold, imaginative non-violent initiatives that require real political courage. The other day, the parents of Greg Rodriguez, a young man who died in the World Trade Center, said this: "We read enough of the news to sense that our government is heading in the direction of violent revenge, with the prospect of sons, daughters, parents, friends in distant lands dying, suffering, and nursing further grievances against us.

"It is not the way to go...not in our son's name."

John Pilger is an award-winning journalist and film-maker, best known for revealing to the world the genocide in Cambodia. Pilger has covered conflict worldwide, reporting from across the Middle East, Asia and South Africa and often questioning the West's involvement.

Pilger, 62, has also filmed more than 15 hard-hitting documentaries, most of which highlight the injustices of recent wars. His latest investigation, titled *The New Rulers of the World* and addressing the problem of globalization, was released in July.



In any case, the state's plans are clear: while Governor Ben Cayetano drones on about making Honolulu the Geneva of the Pacific, his repressive response actually seeks to make Honolulu the Qatar of the Pacific, safe for future meetings like the ADB and other institutions of its ilk. Reportedly, Hawai'i is courting the WTO, so members of that and other institutions of the global elite are watching the outcome of the ADB meeting closely. Consequently, in the state's eyes, the utmost must be done to stifle dissent, making the island safe for future non-democratic institutions to hold their meetings, away from the prying eyes of noisy dissenters who dare to voice objections.

The militaristic police build-up prior to the event is truly impressive and - for the people of Hawai'i used to living and expressing "aloha spirit," - surprising. Just what are our tax dollars going to? How will our state look in the eyes of the world if images of storm troopers launching tear-gas into crowds are broadcast around the world? Why are we allowing this incredibly wealthy institution use our city cost-free? The state has hired a special consultant (a former Delta-Force commando) to advise on security arrangements, is pouring millions of dollars into new paramilitary training for police, and is spending millions of dollars for "riot equipment." Honolulu's assistant Police Chief, Boisse Cararra, is boasting that usually to make security arrangements like on this scale take two years of training for local officers, but Honolulu has only ten months to do this.

Aside from the heavy-handedness of the police plans, this raises serious questions. The Seattle chapter of the National Lawyers Guild recently published a report on police conduct during the WTO protests. Paul Richmond, author of the report, *Waging War on Dissent: Seattle as a Model of a New Type of War* explains, among other things, the "less-lethal" weapons used on protesters during the WTO, must be used in a specific manner specified by the manufacturers or serious injury or death can occur. The Seattle police generally failed to follow such guidelines, either purposefully or due to lack of adequate training. (I highly recommend securing a copy of this incisive report. The NGL can be contacted at wtolegal@yahoo.com or 206-405-4651.) But perhaps Richmond's most important argument is that police tactics utilized in Seattle represents merely a new model for the state and corporations to wage war on citizens (something called "asymmetric warfare"), a model that is now being perfected in such places as Quebec, Washington, DC, Geneva, Davos, and Los Angeles, and now Honolulu. Thus will human rights and civil rights of protesters to assembly and political dissidence be potentially seriously (and purposefully) compromised in the name of making Honolulu safe for the ADB and other institutions of its ilk. The concern of many locals is that the new policies being developed to limit protesters rights will remain after the ADB departs Honolulu so that the city can host future international finance meetings.

Some of the more interesting effects on the city and state as an already occurring as a result of the ADB meeting in May are as follows:

- * Police have already started questioning people on the street and even stopped a motorist who had a "shut down the ADB" bumper sticker on his car
- * The most controversial measures would define camping, give police the authority to cite and arrest violators and allow police to use mounted officers and dogs to enforce the law.
- * The council just passed ordinances that ban "possession with intent to use" any device capable of emitting obnoxious substances.
- * New statutes allow police to arrest (rather than cite) people who deposit any glass, nail, tack, can or other substance that is likely to injure any person, animal, or vehicle
- * The Legislature is currently considering a provision that would allow

the police to carry tasers that emit up to 50,000 volts

- * The HPD has notified the media that the National Guard will be on alert to deal with possible "disturbances;" it has further been reported that the National Guard and Air National Guard have been training with the HPD in paramilitary tactics
- * And one of the most odious proposals, Senate Bill 1525 amends the Hawai'i Code: "(1) A person commits the offense of riot if the person participates with five or more other persons in a course of disorderly conduct: (a) With intent to commit or facilitate the commission of a felony or misdemeanor; Organizers of ADB-Watch, a coalition of several local and international groups organizing against the ADB, are attempting to secure permits to have marches, rallies, and a protest around the convention center. The police so far have refused to issue a permit allowing protesters to march through Waikiki, insisting there will not be enough officers to operate security because, in typical Orwellian logic, they will be guarding the convention center from the marching protesters. When the ACLU suggested that they could fly police officers in from the outer islands to work security for the parade, the HPD said only Honolulu police could do that because only Honolulu police know Honolulu city ordinances. Police will also close off several parks in the vicinity of the convention center and intend to have the Coast Guard patrol the Ala Wai waterway in front of the convention center (a popular area for local clubs to practice paddling) to prevent canoes and outriggers from plying the waters.

Several business people interviewed in the local media believe the police are going overboard and don't believe there will be any problems. This is Hawai'i they remind the reporters, nothing like what happened in Seattle could ever happen here.

Exactly. And nothing like what happened in Seattle ever would have happened there either if the police had not responded the way they did. But the police in Hawai'i seem intent upon following the same pattern as the Seattle police. And the local media seem to be more than happy to cooperate with the police by luridly recounting the tails of the handful of broken Starbucks or Nike windows, while studiously avoiding any mention of fact that the vast majority of the 50,000 protesters in the city that had nothing to do with any of that, or the fact that nothing happened until the police broke loose with weapons of war against peaceful protesters. As one steel worker who participated in the protests pointed out, "had 50,000 protesters actually gone on a rampage in downtown Seattle, you would have had much more than a few broken windows."

There is much irony in the massive militarization of the police and the city for this meeting. Many of the people traveling here from various countries across the Asian-Pacific basin to protest the ADB or take part in the meeting may hold an image of the US as one of a democracy where people are guaranteed political rights to dissent. And in comparison to the many countries in which the ADB has involved itself, the US is indeed much freer on several important levels. But with the arrival of the ADB to the sunny shores of Hawai'i, the police seem to be ensuring that the visitors experience in Hawaii more nearly resembles the experiences within their own countries where repression is the norm. For the small group of wealthy elites taking part in the Bank meeting, perhaps the sight of storm troopers will be a comfort.

The other irony is that the image of Hawai'i is one of "aloha" and peaceful coexistence amongst people from multiplicity of ethnic backgrounds is being destroyed by the militarization of the city in the name of an institution whose mission is supposedly to bring peace and prosperity to the very people it seeks to repress. Of course, we shouldn't be too surprised at the state's capacity for hypocrisy, but it is always depressingly fascinating to witness it in formation. -Erik H.